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CONFIDENTIAL.

(4893.)

F.O.
424

PART LXXV.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

July to September 1883.

130

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

PART LXXV.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.

(No. 250.) *Foreign Office, July* 3, 1883.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 385 of the 16th ultimo, I have to express my approval of the reserve which you maintained at the Porte in regard to recent hostilities in North Albania.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 4.)

(No. 101.) *Scutari, June* 20, 1883.

My Lord,

I TRUST I shall not meet with your Lordship's disapproval for having refrained, in the uncertainty of the moment, from indicating in my telegram of yesterday the means which I might consider available for bringing about an understanding between the Turkish Government and the insurgent clansmen.

As your Lordship is aware, I have had reason to infer, for a considerable time past, that the North Albanian Roman Catholic mountaineers were making use of their objections to the Turco-Montenegrin frontier delimitation as a pretext for advancing their claims for a formal recognition of their rights to self-government, but I could not exactly say how far their views in this direction had been developed.

I therefore felt it would be prudent, in the face of the evident disinclination of the Turkish authorities to listen to disinterested counsels, and of Mustafa Assym Pasha's loudly proclaimed pacification, not to be the possible means of reviving the energy of the insurgents by letting them find out that their cause had been under the consideration of your Lordship.

To-day, however, I have been enabled, without apparently seeking the information myself, to ascertain that I have throughout been perfectly justified in deeming the matter of the frontier one of minor importance, and not difficult to set aside.

The mountaineers are, in fact, prepared to bow to the wishes of the Great Powers in everything, as they feel convinced that the XXIIIrd Article of the Treaty of Berlin, honestly applied, would secure to them, in an improved form, the privileges which they have always exacted from the Turkish authorities.

The concluding paragraphs of my despatch to your Lordship No. 128 of the 29th May, 1880, might, I feel sure, be taken as a foundation upon which to raise an understanding between the Roman Catholic North Albanians and the Turkish Government that would prove quite as advantageous for the latter as for the former.

To avoid the necessity of a reference to my past despatch, I venture to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's convenience, a copy of the paragraphs above alluded to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.

Scutari, May 29, 1880.

(Extract.)

TO insure success, and to complete the work of pacification in these regions, at the same moment as the delimitation of the Montenegrin boundary is accomplished, the Consular Representatives of the Powers should be enabled to assure the North Albanians that, by a proper display of moderation and confidence in the wisdom of the European Governments, their legitimate aspirations for partial self-government shall not go unheeded. An Imperial Proclamation in this sense should, at the same time, be promulgated by the Ottoman authorities.

There is no doubt that out of the chaos of intrigue, personal ambitions, barbaric ignorance, and a hundred other causes which have given rise to the present complications, the hope of a species of autonomy—of some amelioration and a chance of progress—may be easily distinguished as standing foremost, not only among the Roman Catholics, but also with Mahommedan North Albanians.

I share M. Lippich's opinion that it would be premature and unnecessary to attempt to extend the reforms in the administration to much beyond the present limits of the Vilayet of Scutari. Probably in North-east Albania, Ipek, Jacova, Prisrend, Preshtina, Kalkandelen, &c., the Mahommedans, who are the vast majority, would be temporarily content with an improved form of the existing Turkish organization, and the working of which, for the benefit of Christians, could be watched by Consular officers. The same may be said of Middle Albania, Elbassan, Pekini, Berat, and the formation of the autonomous province in North Albania, and the changes to be accomplished in Epirus would gradually determine these fractions of Albania to elect with which State—Southern or Northern—their union is desirable.

In the Province of Scutari, although the Roman Catholic element is the progressive one, and holds the dominant and strategic positions, thus keeping in check all Mahommedan dispositions for despotism, still the Moslems are the largest landowners, and in the towns form the majority of the industrious classes, and it would be a mistake to overlook their undoubted influence, and to give them a secondary rank in the Administration.

When establishing the Government, the post of Governor-General ought to be awarded to an Albanian Mahommedan. I believe it would be well also not to seek one out of the bounds of the vilayet, although the district of Scutari is not rich in instructed Moslems. But, on the other hand, there are several Roman Catholic Scutarine gentlemen quite capable of fulfilling the important functions of Lieutenant-Governor.

The Roman Catholic tribes forming the Confederation, which is locally known as that of the Great Mountain, should be gradually brought into more complete connection with the Central Administration by the appointment of a Christian Kaïmakam, to reside at Tousi.

A similar appointment should be made for the Mirdites and the mountain tribes which follow their lead, but the selection of this official should be made from among the Mirdite Chiefs, and for the present I think no one really eligible for the post but Prenk Bib Doda, who, however, ought to have some Scutarine gentleman associated with him to supply the caution and weight to his authority, which his age now renders rather wanting.

An Administration such as I have slightly sketched ought to be submitted to the consideration of the North Albanians, and no better representative body could be found than the present North Albanian Committee, to which would have to be added delegates from the southern towns and districts of the province.

This proceeding, I trust, would be sufficient to induce the Albanians to consent to the modifications, in the direction proposed, of their Montenegrin frontier, and I am convinced that the combinations which would be elaborated by the North Albanians for their future government would prove worthy of the attention and approval of the Eastern Roumelian Commission.

No. 3.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 4.)

(No. 102. Confidential.)

Scutari, June 22, 1883.

My Lord,

ON the 20th instant I had the honour of telegraphing to your Lordship that an impression had sprung up among the North Albanian insurgents that if the Powers declined to help them in obtaining the recognition of what they considered their rights from the Turkish Government, they could secure the support of the justly renowned Montenegrin Chief Marco Milan, Voïvoda of Kuchi, a district which adjoins those of the Albanian frontier tribes.

Voïvoda Marco Milan has, for some time past, been apparently in disfavour with Prince Nicholas, through his independent bearing and the importance which he attaches to his military services during the late Turkish war. Whether this disfavour is real or not, it was lately publicly marked by the renunciation by Marco Milan of all his official functions and honours. This step is now perceived to have put him in a position to treat with the Albanian insurgents without compromising in too direct a manner the Montenegrin Government.

The reports, therefore, which are reaching the Vienna Foreign Office of the unexpected intercourse between the Montenegrin Chief and the Albanian mountaineers have, I am assured, caused it to forward to its Consul-General here, M. Lippich, pressing instructions to prevent the insurgents from placing themselves under Montenegrin direction.

M. Lippich has consequently, since yesterday, been actively engaged, both with Mustafa Assym Pasha and the Coadjutor Bishop of Scutari, in devising means for drawing the mountaineers once more towards the Turkish authorities.

I understand that my Austrian colleague had to use considerable pressure on Monsignore Guarini before he would consent to write to the insurgent Chiefs to warn them from holding any intercourse with Montenegro, and Padre Pietro, the Prefect of the Franciscan monks, only agreed to be the bearer of the letter to the insurgent camp on condition that the Bishop clearly stated in it that he was acting in concunction with the Austrian Consul-General.

Monsignore Guarini's letter, which left Scutari this morning, I am told, after setting forth the dangers of a union with the schismatics, inquires of the mountaineers the extent of their demands, and promises, if they are moderate, to do his best, with M. Lippich's support, to have them granted.

Mustafa Assym Pasha, I am further informed, has assured M. Lippich that no active operations will be entered upon against the insurgents until the result of the present steps are known.

From what I can gather, it does not appear likely that the influence of either the Bishop or M. Lippich will be sufficient to stop the intercourse which has arisen with the Principality, for the mountaineers imagine that they have been grossly abandoned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, after having been led into their present resistance by its emissaries, who were countenanced both by M. Lippich and the Roman Catholic clergy under his control.

The transformation of the Montenegrin district of Kuchi into the unacknowledged but *de facto* base of operations of the North Albanian mountaineers will necessarily at once invest the insurrection with all the elements of ultimate success, which were hitherto wanting. It will afford an unassailable refuge when needful, and prove a well-stocked magazine of Martini and Snider cartridges. There will no longer be a difficulty in obtaining necessary supplies, and the diplomacy of Turkey (? and Austria) will be as much harassed as the Ottoman troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 4.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 5.)

E

(No. 103.)

Scutari, June 23, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 97 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that Hafiz Pasha advanced into the Hotti and Gruda districts

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on the morning of the 17th, under cover of the fire of his field artillery, and thus was enabled to gain the first slopes of the Albanian mountains.

It is asserted that most of the houses within the range of the Turkish guns were burnt.

At the entrance of the defile of Traboïne the troops were checked, and failed to gain the upper village, but the mountaineers did not attempt to dislodge them from the position taken by them, having themselves suffered a loss of twenty-seven killed and thirty-one wounded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 5.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 5.)

E
(No. 104.)
My Lord, *Scutari, June 25, 1883.*

IN connection with my despatch No. 102, Confidential, of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Lippich's action, which he, however, attempts to explain as having been called for by Mustafa Assym Pasha and the Bishop, as well as by instructions from Vienna, has already resulted in the submission of the majority of the mountaineers who had opposed the Turkish troops.

The Bishop's letter had failed in its purpose, when, on Saturday, a letter reached the insurgent camp direct from M. Lippich, informing the mountaineers that he had been directed by Count Kálnoky to let them know that as long as they remained in arms against the Sultan they need expect no help or sympathy from Austria, whilst, if they accepted, without hesitation, Mustafa Assym Pasha's amnesty, they might rest assured that it would be faithfully observed.

The Chiefs at once counselled their tribesmen to return to their homes, promising to do so themselves as soon as they had proper security that the Turkish Government was acting in good faith even with regard to themselves.

I understand that the mountaineers who have thus submitted have had not only rations but also money distributed to them by the Turkish authorities, as a sort of compensation for the property destroyed during the progress of the military operations.

Until the Chiefs make their formal submission there will always necessarily be a chance of a summons from them to their clansmen to renew the struggle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 6.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received July 5.)

(No. 408. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, June 28, 1883.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have had some conversation with Aleko Pasha, Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, who has arrived here on leave of absence from Philippopoli. His Excellency said that he had been received by the Sultan with great kindness, and that His Majesty had left it entirely to him to decide whether to proceed to another country for the benefit of his health or to remain here, and his Excellency told me that if his health improved he should adopt the latter course.

Aleko Pasha, in reply to my inquiry as to the financial condition of the Principality, said that it was unable to pay the full amount of the tribute allotted to it, the country not having as yet recovered from the disastrous consequences of the late war, but that in time the revenue would increase, and the amount to be paid to the Porte would therefore increase in proportion; that he had pointed this out to the Grand Vizier, who, he said, appeared satisfied with the explanation.

I also asked his Excellency his opinion as to the opposition of the Turkish authorities to the villages in the Rhodope which had been assigned to Eastern Roumelia coming under the Government of the Principality. He replied that it was a

serious matter, and might, if left unsettled, give rise to grave complications; but, on my asking him whether any observations on my part to the Porte might be of service, he replied that for the present he thought not, and that he would himself discuss the question with the Grand Vizier.

Under these circumstances, I do not propose to give effect to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 186 of the 18th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 7.

Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.

(No. 25.) *Foreign Office, July 7, 1883.*
Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 91, Most Confidential, of the 11th ultimo, containing the report of your interview with a person well acquainted with the views of the Albanian insurgents, who was anxious to know whether they could expect any support from Her Majesty's Government.

I have to express my approval of the language which you held to your visitor as reported in that despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 8.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 11.)

E
(No. 105. Confidential.) *Scutari, June 27, 1883.*
My Lord.

I VENTURE to report to your Lordship that the prompt submission of the Albanian frontier clansmen, on the intimation of the Austrian Consul-General, has produced a deep sense of irritation among the mountain Chiefs and their friends, who, more or less, distinctly aver that the resistance was entirely due to Austro-Hungarian incitement.

It is asserted that, besides promises of immediate assistance in ammunition and other military supplies, solemn engagements of support had been obtained through the same source from all the Roman Catholic tribes, and especially from the Mirdites, who had promised to interfere with the communications between Scutari and its seaport of San Giovanni di Medua.

Mustafa Assym Pasha's lavish expenditure of money, I am assured, would have failed to secure the inaction of the Mirdites and the other tribes had it not been seconded by the Austrian Consul-General's directions to the clergy to oppose, in the most strenuous manner, a movement which they had allowed but shortly before to be fomented without question.

M. Lippich, with whom I have spoken on the existing disappointment of the Roman Catholic natives, considers the feeling to be the result of the outcry raised by the Turkish Government and authorities against Austrian proceedings and views, with the express object of striking an effective blow against an influence which it was not safe for the Porte to combat in a more open manner.

I agree with M. Lippich in believing that the Turkish authorities would have never ventured to attack the mountaineers had they not held a positive assurance that the expected Austrian interference would prove a myth, and that, consequently, Hafiz Pasha's operations against the frontier tribes were so devised as to render a collision inevitable.

The occurrences of the last few days have also made it evident that it is deemed by the Austrian Government much more important that the traditional antagonism of the mountaineers to Montenegro should be kept alive than that they should avail themselves of the proximity of the Principality to improve their political status.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 9.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 11.)

E
(No. 106. Confidential.)

Scutari, June 27, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the translation of a further letter from the North Albanian frontier mountain Chiefs, received by me late last night.

It may be shortly described as a prayer from the Chiefs to the Powers to be befriended in their willingness to submit to the Turkish authorities.

Similar letters have been received by my Austrian, French, and Italian colleagues.

M. Lippich, on whom I called this morning, explained that the submission of the insurgents, which he had compassed on the 24th, was not affected by the hesitation of the Chiefs in accepting Mustafa Assym Pasha's amnesty. The unfortunate treatment by Dervish Pasha of Hodo Pasha, Prenk Bib Doda, and many other North Albanians, was not calculated to inspire confidence, and M. Lippich was sure that his Government's action would be strengthened if the Powers would join it in assuring the mountain Chiefs of the present good faith of the Ottoman authorities.

M. Lippich added that, though, in any case, the Austro-Hungarian Government would be bound to see that the Turkish amnesty was in no way infringed, yet he did not look upon the present appeal of the mountain Chiefs as an uncalled-for and indiscreet act.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 9.

The North Albanian Mountain Chiefs to Mr. Kirby Green.

(Translation.)

From the Mountains, June 24, 1883.

Sir,

WE, Chiefs of the tribes of the mountains above Scutari, humbly and submissively venture to furnish you with the following explanations:—

1. On the 9th day of the present month of June we made bold to appeal to the high Governments of the first civilized nations of Europe; and we cried, in the painful straits in which we found ourselves, for their powerful favour.

2. We learnt with joy that our humble Petition had been courteously received by the Representatives of the before-noted Powers, and especially so by you.

3. We awaited with trembling anxiety and firm faith the acceptance of our appeal by the magnanimous and merciful Powers; the suspension of hostilities, the cessation of the cruel persecution to which we were being subjected, and the due consideration of the merits of our cause.

4. Unfortunately, the hoped-for help was delayed. The persecution from the side of our exalted Imperial Government increased, and became more and more cruel. The Imperial troops burst furiously on our villages, burnt our houses, carried off our cattle, and devastated our fields.

5. Fram the day that we addressed our Petition to the Powers before mentioned we thought ourselves in duty bound to scrupulously remain on the defensive, but our august Government found it convenient to bring about encounters and to defy us to do battle, mocking us for our faith in the nations appealed to. (The Turkish troops), who were driven back in their first hostile movements, were reduced to ask for a truce, which we granted. But it was availed of by them to renew their strength, to entrench themselves in strong positions, to corrupt some amongst us, and then to assail us with cruel and unheard-of barbarism.

6. This cruel and barbarous conduct is an evident proof that our august Government has sworn our entire destruction. Its ends are to dismember us, to trample us under foot, to reduce us to nothing.

7. We protest against such barbarism. We declare that we will never submit to such unjust force.

8. We once again have recourse, in the name also of those tribes which, through having been deceived, or through the distance which separates us, have been unable to

come to our assistance, and help to maintain, by force of arms, the rights of all Albania; in the name also of all who, through fear and terror, have been forced to surrender, we appeal again to righteous and civilized Europe, but more especially so, and in greater confidence, to your exalted Government, to bring us out of the distressfully desperate position in which we find ourselves.

9. If the Powers which we invoke should be pleased to listen to our appeal and deign to examine our cause, we from this hour engage to submit ourselves to whatever equitable sentence it may appear to them well to give as to our future political condition.

We, besides, ask that, for the time being, a truce of ten days should be granted to us under the guarantee of the Representatives of the Powers to whom we have appealed, and we venture to make known that it is our wish that the rights noted in our humble and confiding appeal should be taken under consideration.

We also venture to add finally in this note, deeming it opportune and right that you should know, that the most reverend pastor, our Lord the Bishop Guerini, through his autograph rescript dated the 21st instant, and the Austro-Hungarian Consul, M. Lippich, by his official letter under date of the 22nd of the present month, have deigned to urge us, the first, not to launch out into desperate measures; the second, to submit, promising in that case to intervene and interest himself on our behalf with our Government. We are prepared to adhere voluntarily to the counsels both of the most Reverend and Illustrious Bishop and of the Illustrious Representative of the exalted Austro-Hungarian Government, provided we first obtain officially, in writing, the necessary assurances of immunity, and when the before-named Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Consul has formally guaranteed the conditions upon which our submission is based.

In the faith that our humble requests will be listened to by your exalted Government, we proceed to here sign ourselves.

The Chiefs of the Tribes of the Mountains above Scutari:
Finger marks of—
DOD PRENCI, *Standard-bearer of the Castrati.*
(And 14 other Chiefs.)

No. 10.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 12.)

E
(No. 107.)

Scutari, June 28, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that having yesterday ascertained from Mustafa Assym Pasha that delay might still arise in the cession of the frontier-line agreed upon by the Cettinjé Protocol of the 10th January last, I thought it right to observe to his Excellency that the submission of the Albanian tribes had removed from before the Turkish Government the only obstacle which it had hitherto invoked as impeding the fulfilment of its engagements.

I regret to have further to report that one of my colleagues has informed me that the Pasha had stated to him that the Montenegrin boundary delimitation would probably call for the spilling of more blood, as the frontier in the direction of Gussinjé was still undecided, and the Albanians thereabouts were determined that the Montenegrins should retrocede Velika.

My colleague very properly remarked to Mustafa Assym Pasha that the Turkish Government, when dealing with that matter, should bear in mind, if a collision was allowed to take place, that it would be one between Turkish subjects and Montenegrins, and not between Albanians and Turkish troops; in fact, not a family affair, but one between two perfectly independent Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 11.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 12.)

(No. 109.)

Scutari, July 1, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, notwithstanding that Mustafa Assym Pasha had distinctly stated that he had granted fifteen days to the

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Albanian clansmen who had opposed the Turkish troops to return to their allegiance, Hafiz Pasha is said to have caused, within the last few days, several houses and other property belonging to insurgents to be burnt and destroyed by his troops.

Representations have been made on this subject both to me and to my Austrian colleague by the Roman Catholic clergy.

In the absence of instructions from your Lordship, I have thought it proper to abstain from seeking for explanations from Mustafa Assym Pasha on the apparent discrepancy between his published amnesty and Hafiz Pasha's proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 12.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 12.)

(No. 110. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Scutari, July 3, 1883.*

I THINK it right to report to your Lordship, with reference to the submission of the mountain clans, which had been hastened through the advice given to them by the Coadjutor Bishop of Scutari and the Austrian Consul-General, that I have been surprised to find this morning that M. Lippich no longer allows it to be inferred that he was in any way instrumental in bringing about the submission of the mountaineers.

In stating this, I do not wish, however, your Lordship to understand that I was mistaken when I reported, in my despatch No. 106 of the 27th ultimo, that M. Lippich claimed to have compassed the appeasement of the insurrection, and held that the Austro-Hungarian Government would be bound to see that the Turkish amnesty was in no way infringed.

M. Lippich now informs me that he has been instructed by Count Kálnoky to let it be clearly comprehended that the Austrian Government never interferes between rebels and their Governments; and that in the present case, knowing the utter worthlessness of Turkish promises, it would on no account run the risk of standing security for them. As for the Petition of the Chiefs of the 24th June, Count Kálnoky states that the Porte never distinctly intimated that they, the Chiefs, were to be included in the terms of the amnesty.

I understand, through a confidential source, that M. Lippich has dispatched a letter to the insurgent camp conveying the above information.

It is almost needless to remark that it will have the effect of confirming the Roman Catholic North Albanians in the belief that they have been betrayed. At the same time, it is quite possible that the Chiefs, losing all hope of foreign intercession, may continue their struggle as guerillas until affairs in these unsettled regions become more favourable for them and their cause.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 13.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received July 18.)

(No. 111.)
My Lord, *Scutari, July 6, 1883.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 103 of the 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that I am informed that Hafiz Pasha has established fortified military posts on all the most prominent heights of the Hotti and Gruda districts.

I understand that these positions, which, if defended, would have proved almost impregnable, were gained through Hafiz Pasha's superior strategy. He led the mountaineers to concentrate themselves at certain points which he made a feint of attacking, whilst his main force climbed unopposed the dominant summits.

The mountain Chiefs still express themselves determined not to surrender; I trust, however, that the prudence shown by the Turkish Commanders will end in bringing about a satisfactory understanding with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 14.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.

(No. 261 A. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, July 18, 1883.*

Sir,

IN view of the observations made to you by Aleko Pasha in regard to the question of the villages of the Rhodope, as reported in your despatch No. 408, Confidential, of the 28th ultimo, I approve your proposal to suspend any action upon my despatch No. 186 of the 18th May, in which I directed you to bring the matter before the other Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople.

This course may, however, still be desirable in the event of the failure on the part of Aleko Pasha to settle the question at the Porte, and I have accordingly to request you to bear these instructions in mind.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 15.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received July 19.)

(No. 189.) *Vienna, July 8, 1883.*

My Lord,

AFFAIRS in Albania do not appear to settle down quickly, although all serious opposition to the Turkish troops has ceased.

Count Kálnoky has mentioned to me that Assim Pasha has been representing that the troubles were fomented by Austria, and alleged, as evidence, that the Consul Lippich had now invited the Catholic clergy to use their influence in counselling submission.

This had been done at the express request of Sadullah Pasha, the Turkish Ambassadoo, and Count Kálnoky has intimated to the Porte that it must take one of two courses, and either not ask him to do anything, or else not allow him to be accused of intriguing when he complies with its request to obtain the assistance of the Catholic clergy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 16.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received July 19.)

E

(No. 426. Confidential.) *Therapia, July 11, 1883.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 408, Confidential, of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Mattheoff, Secretary to the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, called upon me this week, and represented to me that the continued opposition of the Turkish authorities to the submission to the Government of the province of the eighteen villages in the Rhodope which had been assigned to it was producing grave results, telegraphic information having reached Aleko Pasha of the assassination of an inhabitant of one of those villages who had taken a leading part in advocating their submission to the Government of Eastern Roumelia.

M. Mattheoff then begged me, on the part of Aleko Pasha, to speak to the Grand Vizier on the subject.

I replied that only a few days ago his Excellency had informed me that he was going to enter upon the question himself with Saïd Pasha, and had begged me not to take any steps at the Porte for the present, and that I therefore thought it would be advisable to await the result of his Excellency's representations at the Porte; and that it also appeared to me that it would be better if Aleko Pasha could, in the event of necessity, enlist the good offices of the Representatives of the other Great Powers, as representations from all would be likely to have far more effect than from me alone.

M. Mattheoff then spoke to me on the following matter, which I believe was the

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principal object of his visit. He said that a deputation had gone to Moscow from Philippopoli, that it had been admitted to the coronation, and that the Delegates had afterwards had an interview with M. de Giers and M. de Nelidow, the Russian Representative here, who was summoned to Russia to attend the ceremony at Moscow; that at that interview the Roumelian deputation were informed that the Russian Government was exceedingly displeased with Aleko Pasha, and that Eastern Roumelia appeared to have forgotten how much she was indebted to Russia for her present position, and that the Emperor's Government could not therefore entertain the idea of Aleko Pasha being reappointed at the expiration of his term of office, and which is fast approaching.

M. Mattheoff said that the Delegates had defended Aleko Pasha's conduct, and he then asked me if I had heard of any one else being put forward as his probable successor. I replied that I had not.

I have since obtained from a very reliable source further information as to the above-mentioned interview, viz., that the Delegates were not received by M. de Giers, but only by M. de Nelidow, and that he held the language I have already reported; further, that the following persons were mentioned as candidates for the post of Governor-General, who would be acceptable to Russia: M. Vulkovitch, a Bulgarian, who was lately Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Principality, and who accompanied the Prince on his visit to Constantinople; M. Christovitch, also a Bulgarian, Secretary-General to the Government of Eastern Roumelia, and Director of the Department of the Interior; and Carathéodory Pasha.

On the other hand, Aleko Pasha appears to be in favour with the Sultan, who has, since his arrival here, conferred upon him the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Medjidieh in diamonds.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 17.

E *Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received July 19.)*

(No. 52.)

Sophia, July 11, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have just received from the British Vice-Consul at Rustchuk relative to the emigration of Mussulmans from Bulgaria.

I shall not fail to address a further report to your Lordship on this subject as soon as I shall have obtained the necessary information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Vice-Consul Dalziel to Mr. Lascelles.

(Confidential.)

Rustchuk, July 3, 1883.

Sir,

I THINK it proper to mention the considerable and continuous emigration of Turks from the Principality, although this place is very badly situated for arriving at anything like a true estimate of the numbers.

On the one hand, families sell all that they can well turn into money, and take passage by the Danube Company's steamers from all the Danube ports to Tchernavoda: from thence they go to Kustendjé and so on to Constantinople. Others go to Varna, and from thence to Constantinople.

On the other hand, I am informed that a much larger number take with them their oxen and carts; and crossing the Balkans make the best of their way by Adrianople.

As you are no doubt aware, the Bulgarian Government some time ago appointed a Commission of two members of the Council of State, Messrs. Hadji Mehemet Aali and Jordan Theodoroff, to discover the reasons of the exodus and devise a remedy. Both of these are capable men, and their Report must have the greatest value; but, unfortunately, the Governors of the country are almost without exception absent from

it, and however able may be the Report there seems to be nothing done, and it is even doubtful if anything will be done.

There can be no doubt that the best informed amongst the Bulgarians see and deplore the consequences of the depopulation of the country; but I think there can also be no doubt that there are a very large number who do not believe it is any disadvantage to lose 5,000,000 in a population of 2,000,000, especially if in leaving they sell all they possess for half nothing, and disembarrass those who rema'n of the ancient better class and the religious question at the same time.

The reason of this exodus is undoubtedly the small persecutions of every sort which the Mussulman population is made to endure, and the want of any redress by application to the Administration of the Tribunals. And it is noteworthy that the very emigration prevents in some measure the authorities taking proper steps to keep order, for the rate of wages has gone to a very high pitch, and consequently it is impossible to get anything but the worst classes to fill the posts of gendarmes.

The gendarmes also have been reduced in numbers, and they are in fact a source of the greatest evil in the country. I certainly do not in my experience remember that the Turkish zaptiehs were worse than the Christian gendarmes; on the contrary, I believe the latter to be the worst of the two.

I do not even remember to have read of anything approaching to the following act of brutality which has been recounted to me by various respectable persons a happening recently at Kaedevo, a village on the Lour, not far from Rasgrad, whe r a gendarme on his arrival gave his horse to a Turk to hold, telling him to give it some hay and barley. The Turk took it away for this purpose, and being a little late in returning the gendarme, by way of teaching him to be smarter in future, drew his pistol and shot him in the body; the man is very seriously wounded, and is now in the hospital of Rustchuk, and the gendarme is unpunished: the consequence of this one act is, that the whole village, consisting of over fifty households, is preparing to go. I spoke to the Préfet about this; he told me he had been to see the patient, and his account was much the same as I have given it above, with this difference, that the arm was not a pistol but a Snider rifle; the ball entered above the groin and passed out again at the back, and hopes are entertained of his recovery.

The Préfet also told me that the gendarme is suspended from his service, and will be delivered up to be judged by the Tribunals as soon as the inquest being made shall have pronounced that to be necessary.

The account given by the district Natchalink is, that the gendarme did not shoot the man intentionally; that he was cleaning out his rifle and forgot that it was loaded, and that somehow the charge went off.

I may remark that for any one who has ever used a Snider rifle this is a very improbable story; if he had opened the breech, then he could not possibly have exploded the cartridge, or, if he had, then the explosion would have burnt himself; if the breech was closed, then he must have had the muzzle turned towards himself, not to the man seated opposite.

I suppose if his statement ever comes to be dissected he will say that he was wiping the dust off the outside, which also will probably be quite satisfactory, and the poor Turk, if he lives, will be told that it was all an accident, notwithstanding the words used.

I am informed that the authorities refuse to grant permission to leave to every one who has not signed a declaration that he has no lawsuit pending. The result of this is, that in cases where the poor people have sold their property, and have been afterwards robbed of the proceeds, they cannot get permission to go, or if they get it they must at the same time renounce all hope for redress, as their declaration is brought against them, and I am told that there are well-authenticated cases of such actions; for instance, near Plevna two such robberies occurred recently.

The Préfet tells me that he is perfectly powerless; he had applied to the Ministry for power to search the archives of the telegraph office for some correspondence he believes to exist, to be used as evidence, but could get no reply; and indeed, as a general rule, he could get no replies to any questions he asked.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. DALZIEL.

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No. 18.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 24.)

E
(No. 115.)

Scutari, July 13, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that during the past week Mustafa Assym and Hafiz Pashas have apparently completed the subjection of the tribes of the Great Mountains by receiving acts of homage and submission from the Skrelli and Scialla and Sciossi clans, as well as from those of Hotti, Gruda, and Castrati.

The Skrelli tribe was implicated in the assassination of the Chief of the Boluk Bashis reported in my despatch No. 105 of the 7th December, 1882; and the Scialla and Sciossi were the authors of the night attack on Scutari described in my Report No. 27 of the 13th February last.

No other satisfaction has been exacted from these clansmen than a promise to punish themselves, or, if needful, to assist the Turkish troops in punishing, the actual authors of the outrages, and a solemn assertion of their continued loyalty to the Sultan.

From the manner in which Hafiz Pasha obtained the submission of the mountaineers who had opposed his troops, and the easy terms granted to the other tribes, it is evident that the Turkish Government must have deemed it prudent to close as quickly as possible the door to complications which had been opened by the hasty commencement of military operations against the frontier clansmen.

This is the impression left on the minds of the mountaineers themselves, who already seem disposed to look upon their recent resistance in the light of a satisfactory assertion of their power to maintain their privileges.

The Chiefs of the Hotti, Gruda, and Castrati tribes still decline to avail themselves of the amnesty offered to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 19.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 24.)

E
(No. 116.)

Scutari, July 13, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Mustafa Assym Pasha has informed me that the amnesty published by him for all those who were recently engaged in open resistance against the Imperial troops is complete, and without any exceptions. His Excellency has, however, declined to furnish me with a copy of the Proclamation, on the ground that his doing so might be interpreted as a wish to secure for it, in an indirect manner, the indorsement of a foreign Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 20.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 24.)

(No. 117.)

Scutari, July 14, 1883.

My Lord,

I LEARN that the summons of the Turkish authorities to the frontier tribes to return to the Government stores the rifles which had been issued to them on the outbreak of hostilities with Montenegro in the summer of 1876 is being satisfactorily responded to.

It is, however, necessary that I should explain to your Lordship that the delivery of those rifles does not imply a disarmament of the mountaineers, as they are allowed to retain all other weapons, and they have all long ago acquired, by purchase and other means, ample stocks of breech-loading rifles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 21.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 28.)

(No. 12.)

Salonica, July 17, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copies of two Reports of Mr. Vice-Consul Capety on the subject of the destruction of brigands in the Sandjak of Serres.

I have the satisfaction to report to your Lordship that no acts of brigandage or other serious disorders have been perpetrated in the southern districts of Macedonia during the last two months.

The districts of Cassandra, Salonica, Allassona, Catterina, and Karaferia are now quiet.

The Greek brigand chief, Camaka, has been hotly pursued by the Turkish military in district of Catterina, and forced to take refuge in Greek territory with two of his confederates. I now hear that these outlaws have been captured by the "Evzoni" Greek frontier guard in the direction of Rapsani.

Two bands of brigands, one of them said to be commanded by the notorious Niko, have been attacked and dispersed by the Turkish troops in the Vilayet of Monastir, assisted by Christian and Turkish armed volunteers.

The plan of requisitioning and arming Christian and Turkish peasants for police duties is now being generally adopted by the Ottoman authorities in the interior. From all I hear it has proved very useful, especially in the Sandjak of Serres.

M. Scriabine, the Russian Consul at Monastir, and M. Yastrobow, Russian Consul at Prisrend, who are both here on a visit to the Russian Consul-General, bear testimony to the improved state of public security in the Vilayets of Monastir and Cossova.

M. Scriabine speaks very highly of the determined and untiring efforts made in that direction by Mehmed Eyoub Pasha, Vali and Commander-in-chief of Monastir; and M. Yastrobow acknowledges that brigandage has sensibly decreased in Uscup, Pristina, Novi-Bazar, and other districts in the Vilayet of Cossova. He, however, represents the district of Ipek as bordering on anarchy, and states that many of its Christian inhabitants have left their homes and taken refuge in Servia in consequence of the persecutions they suffered from the Albanian mountaineers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 21.

Vice-Consul Capety to Consul-General Blunt.

Serres, le 6 *Juillet,* 1883.

M. le Consul-Général,

IL y a quelques jours une rencontre a eu lieu près de Golesciovo entre la bande Zimbil et la force publique. Des deux côtés il n'y a pas eu de perte.

La poursuite continue toujours mais pour le moment sans aucun résultat éclatant. Selon mes informations Cuculitz avec une trentaine de brigands se trouvait dernièrement dans les Montagnes Liaija, cinq heures loin d'ici, avec l'intention de s'en aller à Beleso, qu'il connaît bien, étant originaire de Ramna.

Rifat Pacha a affiché partout des Proclamations et mis en prix les têtes des brigands. Il a même payé aux auteurs du fait de Calapôt, dont j'ai fait mention dans mon Rapport No. 7, 5,000 piastres pour la tête du chef de bande Deli-Olan et 2,000 piastres pour les têtes de deux autres bandits, et il a donné sur caution aux habitants de Calapôt quinze fusils Martini.

Le Caïmacan de Nevrocop vient de réclamer une récompense en argent pour les gens qui ont dernièrement tués neuf brigands à Babiako; mais comme le Vékil du Mutessarif m'a dit hier, rien n'a été décidé encore sur cette demande.

Dans la poursuite des brigands la troupe régulière prend comme auxiliaires des Chrétiens et des Turcs selon les endroits ou le besoin se présente. Ces gens sont armés de leurs propres fusils excepté une vingtaine de "Neferam" de Vrondù, auxquels l'autorité a fourni des armes lors de l'érection du Moudirlik de Vrondù, dont le Moudir est Chrétien et qui sous des divers rapports a rendu des services signalés.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) C. CAPETY.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 21.

Vice-Consul Capety to Consul-General Blunt.

M. le Consul-Général, *Serres, le 10 Juillet*, 1883.

LE Commandant Refant Pacha a bien voulu m'informer avant-hier qu'un des frères Zimbil et deux brigands ont été tués Samedi passé dans les environs de Vrondù.

Des particularités de cette rencontre que j'ai obtenu d'une autre source j'ai su que ce succès a été racheté par des pertes proportionnellement considérables, parce que trois soldats ont été tués sur le lieu même, quatre autres sont blessés, l'un d'eux grièvement, et peut-être a déjà succombé; aussi trois "Neferam" ont été blessés.

L'attaque était conduite par un Bimbashi en tête de cinquante soldats et aidé par Hadji Dimitri, le Moudir de Vrondù, conduisant quarante "Neferam" Chrétiens.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) C. CAPETY.

No. 22.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

E

(No. 199. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 17*, 1883.

I ASKED Count Kálnoky yesterday whether he had received from Baron Calice any report upon the proposal which had been brought forward by Mr. Wyndham to discuss the question of the amount of the tribute to be paid by Bulgaria to Turkey, and I mentioned that the Russian Representative had held the matter not to be yet ripe for consideration.

His Excellency replied that if such a report had been received he had not yet had time to examine it, but he certainly thought that the consideration of it ought not to be indefinitely delayed, and the first thing would be to obtain some data from which the amount of the tribute could be determined, and when I said that Mr. Wyndham had already asked the Porte for statistics showing the revenue that had been derived from Bulgaria before the war, he entirely approved of it as the first step to be taken.

No difficulty about going into this matter need, I imagine, be anticipated from Count Kálnoky, who does not conceal his opinion that there is much justice in the complaint of the Porte that, while the Powers were very energetic in forcing Turkey to execute the parts of the Treaty which weighed upon her, they have done little to insure the execution of the provisions that were favourable to her.

This had been especially the case in Bulgaria, which by the Treaty of Berlin was to be constituted as an autonomic Principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan with a national militia, but which was becoming a Russian province, and had been allowed to create a regular army under the command of Russian officers, and absorbing some 17,000,000 fr. out of a total revenue of about 26,000,000 fr. or 27,000,000 fr.

Count Kálnoky looks at the whole position of Bulgaria with considerable anxiety, for, while the increasing authority of Russia is far from a matter of indifference to him, he does not think it desirable to make any direct protest against it.

He believes that the Russian yoke is daily becoming more intolerable to the Bulgarians, and that before long they may themselves show that they will not continue to submit to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 23.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 200.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 17*, 1883.

MR. KIRBY GREEN, in his despatch to your Lordship No. 101, repeats a suggestion formerly made by him that, with a view to the pacification of North Albania, the Consular Representatives should be enabled to assure the North Albanians

that, by a proper display of moderation and confidence in the European Governments, their legitimate aspirations for partial self-government shall not go unheeded.

The same view of the desirable course to follow may be detected in other of Mr. Kirby Green's late despatches, and it may, therefore, be right to inform your Lordship of my conviction, that it would not be found possible to induce Count Kálnoky so far to commit the Imperial Government towards the North Albanians.

Her Majesty's Consul is no doubt right in supposing, as appears from his despatch No. 102, that the Austrian Government would see with dissatisfaction an understanding come to between the Montenegrins and the Albanian Chiefs, as long as the latter remain in insurrection against the Sultan, and the possibility of this occurring may have had some influence in inducing Count Kálnoky to acquiesce in the desire expressed by the Turkish Ambassador, that Consul Lippich should use his influence with the Catholic clergy to persuade the Chiefs to cease their resistance to the Sultan's troops.

Mr. Kirby Green does not consider it likely that the influence of either the Bishop or Mr. Lippich will be sufficient to stop the intercourse which has arisen with the Principality, as the mountaineers imagine they have been grossly abandoned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, after having been led into their present resistance by its emissaries, who were countenanced both by Mr. Lippich and the Roman Catholic clergy under his control, and he further observes that the transformation of the Montenegrin district of Kuchi into the unacknowledged but *de facto* base of operations of the North Albanian mountaineers will at once invest the insurrection with all the elements of ultimate success which were hitherto wanting.

Upon the last part of these remarks I would only point out to your Lordship that, although it might be rash to predict with Mr. Kirby Green that the transfer of the base of operations to the Kuchi would invest the insurrection with all the elements of success, there can, at least, be no doubt but that the affair might assume serious proportions if the Turkish Government were to find that the operations were directed from the Principality.

With regard to the supposition of the resistance of the mountaineers having been encouraged by emissaries of the Austrian Government, your Lordship may safely dismiss it as undeserving of attention.

That Austrian subjects have been making themselves busy with the Albanian Chiefs is well known, and Count Kálnoky has spoken to me of the annoyance they caused him; for, while they were exerting themselves in a manner directly opposed to the wishes and interests of their Government, the ignorant and credulous populations believed them to be its agents, which they no more were than Messrs. Evans or Paget, who are both said to be again in Albania, are the agents of Her Majesty's Government.

I have been able to detect nothing to make me doubt that from the commencement of the troubles the wish of the Austrian Government has been that the resistance to the Ottoman authorities should cease, and I cannot imagine any interest that they could have in desiring its continuance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 24.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

E

No. 202. Confidential.) *Vienna, July 24*, 1883.

My Lord,

PRINCE ALEXANDER of Bulgaria has passed through Vienna on his return to Sophia.

I am informed that, at an interview he had with His Highness, Count Kálnoky again spoke to him of the military organization of the Principality as being entirely contrary to Treaty, and condemned the additional expenditure intended to be incurred on it, when it already absorbs about two-thirds of the revenue of the country; but he gave the Prince to understand that he did not himself propose to raise a question about it, as he had no wish to add to the difficulties by which His Highness is surrounded.

It is evident that this question gives Count Kálnoky considerable uneasiness, and that he does not see his way to prevent the creation of an army on which neither the

Prince nor the Bulgarian people will be able to rely, and which is becoming practically a Russian force available at any moment as a powerful instrument in support of Russian designs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 25.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 204. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, July 24, 1883.*

I UNDERSTAND that while he was in Vienna the Prince of Bulgaria received a letter from the Emperor of Russia which caused him much vexation, and put an end to his hope that the representations he had made to His Majesty at Moscow would be listened to.

It seems that he had been led to expect that the Russian Generals, who now exercise uncontrolled authority in the Principality, would be recalled, and that General Ehrenroth, who had shown regard for the interests of Bulgaria, and was not guided like the others solely by those of Russia, would be allowed to return; but the Prince was informed by this letter that this could not be, and that the Ministers who hold him in thraldom must be retained.

A further cause of annoyance to the Prince was the announcement that M. Jonin, who, while Russian Consul at Ragusa, had made himself notorious for the support he afforded to the insurgents of the Herzegovina and to the Montenegrins, was to be sent as Agent and Consul-General to Sophia.

M. de Giers has promised the Prince that he should have no cause to complain of M. Jonin, but as similar assurances had been given when he protested against the appointment of M. Hitrovo, His Highness knows the little value of those now offered, and augurs ill from the selection made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 26.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

E
(No. 209. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, July 30, 1883.*

MR. KIRBY GREEN informed your Lordship by his despatch No. 106, Confidential, of the 27th ultimo, that M. Lippich, the Austro-Hungarian Consul, had expressed to him the opinion that the action of his Government would be strengthened if the Powers would join it in assuring the mountain Chiefs of the good faith of the Ottoman authorities, and I have inquired confidentially of Count Kálnoky whether he adopted the same view.

His Excellency replied that it was quite true that about a month ago M. Lippich had taken the view represented by Mr. Kirby Green, but that he had been obliged to inform him that his Government did not share it, as they would not be induced to give any assurances which would entail upon them the responsibility of seeing that they were not falsified, and M. Lippich was consequently warned to avoid anything that might compromise them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 27.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 172.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1883.*

THE Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires told me this afternoon that his Government had instructed their Representative at Sophia to complain of the violation

of the rights of Austro-Hungarian subjects in Bulgaria, and of the conduct of the Government in regard to the matter. He asked whether Her Majesty's Government were disposed to take a similar course.

I told M. Hengelmüller that if Count Kálnoky would inform me rather more fully of the instructions he had given, I should probably instruct the British Representative to join in the remonstrance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 28.

Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.

(No. 27.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 6, 1883.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 109 of the 1st ultimo, reporting that Hafiz Pasha was said to have caused the destruction of property belonging to the Albanian insurgents, notwithstanding the amnesty proclaimed by Mustafa Assym Pasha, I have to instruct you to communicate the report to that functionary, and request an explanation of Hafiz Pasha's proceedings.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 29.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 119.)
My Lord, *Scutari, July 25, 1883.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Dod Guega, a Mirdite, who had been raised to the rank of Bimbashi, and commanded the native police force in Mirdicia, was yesterday afternoon shot dead by Capitan Nu Gioni, one of the Bib Doda family.

Dod Guega was the representative and partisan in the Mirdite mountains of the Turkish Government, and, whilst having been formerly a humble retainer of the Bib Dodas, had now become an opponent and rival of that family.

His murder will necessarily be looked upon as a blow struck at the influence of the Turkish Government in Mirdicia, and as a determination to maintain intact among the Mirdites the predominant position of Prenk Bib Doda.

It is probable, should the operations which Hafiz Pasha is now carrying out in the Great mountains terminate successfully, that they will have to be extended to Mirdicia to support the successor of Dod Guega, if a Mirdite can be found willing to undertake the office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 30.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 120.)
My Lord, *Scutari, July 25, 1883.*

ABDI PASHA, the Vali of Scutari, whose misgovernment of this province necessitated the dispatch here of Mustafa Assym Pasha, Hafiz Pasha, and two Aides-de-camp of the Sultan, having been now promoted to the military and civil command of the Vilayet of Kossovo, I venture to express to your Lordship the opinion that the appointment can only be calculated to plunge North-east Albania into greater anarchy than already exists there.

So notorious are the weakness and incapacity of Abdi Pasha, that his return to Albania cannot fail to be interpreted but as a wish in high quarters that full play should be accorded to the fanatical and turbulent elements which unfortunately prevail at a point of the Empire which adjoins Servia, Bosnia, and Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 31.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 13.)

My Lord, *Salonica, July 30, 1883.*

THE inclosed Memorandum on the condition of affairs in the vilayet of Monastir has been communicated to me by a well-informed person who has recently arrived here from that district.

It shows how the energetic measures which the Vali Ahmet Eyoub Pasha has taken to establish order and tranquility in his vilayet are frustrated by the Porte's mistaken leniency and indulgence towards the refractory proceedings of the Mahommedan Albanians of Dibra. I should add that the account my informant gives of the efforts of Eyoub Pasha to suppress brigandage and promote the construction of public roads is confirmed by the Reverend Mr. Baird, an American Protestant Missionary established at Monastir, and by other independent sources. His Excellency has succeeded in making an excellent road, passable for carriages, between Monastir, the capital of his vilayet, and Giordja, a town of considerable commercial importance in South Albania; and I now hear that he is making arrangements for extending this road to Janina, the capital of Epirus. He has also perfected the road leading from Monastir and Perlepé to the Salonica Railway Station at Gratzko, through which there is a very considerable traffic.

I am also glad to add that Ghalib Pasha takes the same interest in extending and keeping up the public roads in the vilayet of Salonica; he has had the road between Salonica and Serres thoroughly repaired, and is now giving his attention to the roads leading to the several stations on the railway between Salonica and Kuprulu (Velessa).

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 31.

Memorandum.

(Extrait.)

LE Vali de Bitolia (Monastir), Ahmet Eyoub Pacha, qui a toujours tenu à cœur le bien-être des habitants de son vilayet, a facilement compris que l'ennemi le plus redoutable de ce bien-être n'était autre que le brigandage qui ravageait le pays à un point tel que tout agriculture et tout mouvement commercial risqueraient d'être complètement anéantis.

A la fin de l'année 1881, se produisirent des événements très alarmants en conséquence de l'état dangereux des choses dans le district de Giordja.

Eyoub Pacha ayant usé de toutes les mesures que le pouvoir de l'Administration ordinaire pouvait lui procurer, fut enfin forcé de déclarer le district de Giordja en état de siège, en y introduisant la cour martiale, qui seule pouvait offrir la possibilité de juger promptement et sévèrement les perturbateurs de l'ordre et de la sécurité publique.

Le Président de cette Cour, Néhim Bey, montra tant de zèle, de probité, et de justice dans ses fonctions qu'au printemps de l'année 1882 on ne comptait plus une seule bande de brigands à Giordja.

Cependant la localisation de cette mesure énérgique eût aussi son mauvais côté; les brigands qui purent échapper aux recherches se dispersèrent dans les districts environnants où la cour martiale ne pouvait les atteindre et user de son immédiate sévérité.

Ce fut là la cause que tout le Vilayet de Monastir commença à être envahi par ces brigands et un moment vint où il aurait été dangereux même de s'éloigner d'un quart d'heure de la ville.

Ce fut alors qu'Eyoub Pacha, qui avait introduit la cour martiale à Giordja avec l'approbation de la Sublime Porte, en demanda l'autorisation aussi pour le reste du vilayet.

Le Président de la cour martiale de Giordja, Néhim Bey, changea sa résidence contre celle de Monastir. Aidé par la force militaire il eut la chance d'arrêter le brigandage des bandes les plus redoutées dans un court délai. Mais il lui restait à vaincre la partie la plus dangereuse de malfaiteurs, c'est-à-dire ceux qui couvraient leur métier de brigands de leur position sociale.

C'étaient les Beys de Dibra qui pillaient la population paisible tout en se reposant après leurs exploits dans leurs foyers.

Néhim Bey fut chargé par Eyoub Pacha d'une enquête énergique contre eux. Cette enquête fut si bien menée que les preuves de la culpabilité des principaux Notables fut démontrée à l'évidence.

Plusieurs d'entre eux furent arrêtés, conduits à Monastir, et imprisonnés.

La sécurité publique paraissait assurée; les agriculteurs cultivaient paisiblement leurs champs, le mouvement commercial se ranimait.

Tout promettait un avenir souriant aux habitants et heureux à l'Etat.

Rien n'empêchait donc le sympathique Vali de s'occuper des améliorations administratives et économiques du vilayet.

Le manque de communications convenables étant une entrave au développement des affaires il s'occupa de la prompte construction des voies. Les infatigables recherches, des mois entiers passés en tournée, pour étudier les directions les plus utiles à suivre, eurent pour effet qu'au commencement du printemps tous les habitants des districts à parcourir par ces chemins furent mis à l'œuvre.

On comptait déjà sur les avantages et les bénéfices que la facilité des transports aurait produit quand on vit surgir des empêchements nouveaux, qui, se suivant les uns les autres, amenèrent outre l'anéantissement de toutes ces espérances, la destruction complète de tout le bien précédemment fait.

En premier lieu les Beys de Dibra, par des intrigues à Constantinople, obtinrent non seulement leur délivrance, mais encore le refus du Ministère de la Guerre de vouloir reconnaître l'état de siège existant jusqu'alors dans le vilayet avec l'autorisation de la Sublime Porte.

Puis par les mêmes intrigues ils parvinrent à faire annuler par la Sublime Porte le projet d'Eyoub Pacha d'ouvrir une issue à Dibra par les voies de communication pour se mettre en état de tenir cette province, inaccessible même à l'artillerie de montagne, sous les armes Turques, et grâce fut faite aux Dibriotes de ce chemin.

Voilà comment les choses se passèrent: Cadri Pacha, Gérant du Mutessarillik de Dibra, reçut l'ordre du Vali de Monastir de commencer la construction de la route; il assembla dans ce but les Notables de la ville, et les invita à se rendre avec lui sur l'endroit même pour décider de la distribution des tronçons du chemin à construire.

Les Notables demandèrent à consulter le peuple; celui qui, mis en défiance par les exemples précédents, présentait dans l'invitation des Notables un événement extraordinaire, se trouvait déjà rassemblé sur la place de la ville. Mécontent de la construction de chemins qui auraient rompus l'isolement de son pays, et poussé à la résistance par les Beys arrêtés à Monastir, le peuple accueillit cette occasion pour se venger de toutes les mesures prises contre lui par les autorités Turques. Ayant donc décidé de résister, il ferma le bazar et lança des télégrammes à la Sublime Porte et au Vali de Monastir, déclarant qu'il était prêt à obéir aux ordres du Gouvernement à la condition cependant que Cadri Pacha et Néhim Bey, exécuteurs énergiques des ordres du Vali de Monastir, seraient rappelés de Dibra! Quant aux Notables, en retournant chez Cadri Pacha, ils lui déclarèrent que pour ce qui les concernait ils étaient prêts à suivre ses ordres, mais qu'ils ne pouvaient pas répondre du peuple.

Cadri Pacha, révolté de cette réponse si rusée, attrappa au collet un des Beys, lequel lui intima de le lâcher en le menaçant de le tuer. Cadri Pacha ayant informé la Sublime Porte de la résistance qu'on lui faisait ainsi que de la fermeture du Bazar, elle donna ordre au Commandant des troupes à Monastir, Sabit Pacha, de se rendre à Dibra et de promettre aux Albanais qu'on renoncerait au projet de la construction du chemin à la condition d'un complet apaisement de leur côté.

Sur ce les Dibriotes rouvrirent le Bazar et envoyèrent un autre télégramme à la Sublime Porte la remerçiant de ses bonnes dispositions à leur égard; mais en même temps insistant que Cadri Pacha et Néhim Bey fussent rappelés étant, selon eux, les seuls promoteurs de tous les désordres.

Quelques jours plus tard un télégramme arrivait aux Notables, signé du Premier Secrétaire du Sultan et de Dervich Pacha, dans lequel on leur annonçait que Sa Majesté voulait bien pardonner leur conduite jusqu'à ce jour et que comme preuve de sa bienveillance il avait fait passer ordre à Cadri Pacha et à Néhim Bey de quitter immédiatement Dibra. A peine le bruit s'était-il répandu que le Ministère de la Guerre ne reconnaissait pas l'état de siège du Vilayet de Monastir, et à peine les Dibriotes eurent-ils reçu satisfaction complète à leur demande, que les bandes de brigands reparurent comme par enchantement et avec eux tous les malheurs possibles pour les paisibles habitants.

Les choses marchant de ce train il faut s'attendre à ce que les cultivateurs,

craignant de s'exposer, négligeront leur récolte, et que les commerçants ne voulant point se risquer sur des routes envahies par les brigands, il n'y aura à la place du bien-être général que promettaient les mesures prises par le Vali, Ahmet Eyoub Pacha, que la misère pour la population et des grands dommages pour le Gouvernement.

Salonique, le 26 Juillet, 1883.

No. 32.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord, *Salonica, July 30*, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch of Mr. Vice-Consul Capety, reporting the massacre of a whole family by the brigand Chief Zembil, in the district of Serres.

In a further despatch, a copy of which I also inclose, Mr. Capety reports that the notorious brigand Chief Cocoulitz has been killed, with three of his companions, in the same district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Vice-Consul Capety to Consul-General Blunt.

M. le Consul-Général, *Serres, le 23 Juillet*, 1883.

JE m'empresse de vous transmettre la nouvelle d'un fait qui met le comble aux crimes de Georges Zimbil.

Samedi passé, c'est-à-dire avant-hier, le chef brigand a tué seul dans un champ une heure loin de Vrondú, cinq personnes appartenant toutes à une famille seule de Papayanni, de Vrondú, deux jeunes filles et la bru de ce prêtre, son petit-fils et son neveu, enfants tous deux, ont été victimes de la vengeance de Zembil.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) C. CAPETY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

Vice-Consul Capety to Consul-General Blunt.

M. le Consul-Général, *Serres, le 27 Juillet*, 1883.

EN vous confirmant mes rapports en date du 21 et 23 de ce mois, j'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer qu'enfin Cocoulitz, un des chefs brigands, qui pendant cinq ans exerçait dans ce sandjak son exécrable métier, vient d'être tué avec trois autres brigands Mardi passé, trois heures loin d'ici, entre Mouhlan et Zikhna Mahalé.

L'autorité militaire ayant des doutes sur l'identité de Cocoulitz a envoyé sur le lieu un homme qui le connaissait et celui-ci l'ayant reconnu, 50 livres ont été décrétées à payer à l'individu qui a mis la force publique sur la piste de la bande.

La mort de Cocoulitz ne met pas la fin au brigandage mais elle lui porte un coup décisif.

Rifaat Pacha espère avoir bientôt raison de Zimbil aussi.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) C. CAPETY.

No. 33.

Some Observations on the present state of Dardania, or Turkish Serbia (including the Vilayet of Kossovo and part of the Vilayet of Monastir), by Mr. A. Evans.

E

THE present distribution of vilayets in the Upper Albanian and Old Serbian region is altogether artificial and apparently unintelligible. Thus, while Üsküp

(Skoplje) and Pristina are included in the Vilayet of Kossovo, the neighbouring and geographically inseparable districts of Tetovo (Kalkandelen) and Prisrend are placed under the distant Government of Monastir! This partitionment has very probably a military object, since in the case of an Albanian movement in the Shar ranges the troops of two vilayets could be employed to crush it without any derangement of the normal distribution of forces. But it is also not impossibly due to a not unnatural dread on the part of the Porte of placing too large an Albanian district under the command of any one Pasha who might be tempted to play an ambitious game. Although the recent disturbances regarding the Montenegrin Frontier question were local and mainly confined to the Catholic mountaineers of the Scodra district, they certainly have found an echo on this side of the Shar Dagh, and the Turkish authorities found it advisable to send several additional battalions to Gussinjé and other points. At the present moment the Albanian League may be said to be dormant, but there is ample evidence of the prolongation of the movement of which it was a symptom. It may be said with truth that in the Vilayet of Kossovo and the neighbouring Old Dardanian districts, wherever the Albanian element preponderates Turkish authority exists because it is not exercised. Even in the Mutessariflik of Üsküp, the most peaceable part of the country, no Turkish official dares venture into one of the Albanian mountain villages unsupported by a considerable troop. These Albanian mountaineers are well-armed mostly with Government Martini-Henrys, and they are continually tyrannizing over their Christian neighbours; but though they constitute an eventual menace to the Turkish Government, there is no apparent disposition and there has been no serious attempt to disarm them. The local Turkish officials, and this is a significant symptom, rather cultivate their goodwill. They (the Turks) speak with more than tolerance of the Albanian idea of forming a vassal State under the Sultan, and I have heard Turkish officers here openly execrate Dervish Pasha, whose treacherous seizure of the Albanian Chiefs at Üsküp put a temporary extinguisher on the "League." It must, moreover, be remembered that while Pashas, Mutessarifs, and Mudirs are perpetually changing, the Mahommedan religious officers sit *en permanence* in the divans of the konak and the local Medjliss, and exercise a very real control over the administration. This Mahommedan religious influence is all on the side of the Albanian true believers, and any functionary who should ignore it sets in motion a whole machinery of intrigue ramifying to Stamboul.

The Albanians of this part are a rougher and more fanatical set than those of the Adriatic coastlands, and to give them complete local autonomy would be simply giving them free hand to tyrannize, even more than at present, over the industrious Christian population of the Dardanian lowlands. I use the term "Dardanian," because the districts of which I am speaking (those, namely, embraced in the present Kossovo Vilayet and the northern strip of the Monastir Vilayet, including Kalkandelen and Prisrend, and which lie between Albania Proper and Serbia) answer nearly exactly to the old Illyrian Kingdom and later Roman Province of Dardania. Although, owing to the great Serbian exodus under Arsenius Tzernojevich, there has been a great Albanian immigration into this Dardanian region during the last three centuries, it is certain that, at least in the southern districts, the Slavonic element, though less self-assertive, still largely preponderates. The rich plains about Üsküp are tilled almost exclusively by Slavonic peasants (falsely called Bulgars—really, as their language shows, very pure-blood Serbs), and Serbian is the language of the market-place. Even about Prisrend, where the Albanian element is larger, a large number of the so-called Arnaouts still speak Serb, while at Novipazar the Serbian language is overwhelmingly preponderant. In the mountain ranges alone can the population be fairly called Albanian.

My observations on the present occasion have been hitherto chiefly confined to the part of Dardania of which Üsküp is the principal centre. It has, however, been pretty thoroughgoing, as I have had occasion to visit over fifty villages. This is by far the most tranquil and orderly region of the Kossovo Vilayet, and I found it entirely free from any kind of brigandage. The nearest bands, at present, are in the neighbourhood of Prilip, and seem to be under the direction of the famous Niko. They have no political significance, and are equally detestable to Turk and Christian. Nor could I find any trace of a political conspiracy or movement among the Rayah population of the Skoplje (Üsküp) and neighbouring districts. Any such movement would, indeed, be hopeless and suicidal, as the Christian population, for the most part, inhabits the plain country and the lower ranges, and is kept in check by the armed Arnaouts of the surrounding highlands, as well as by the Turkish troops. Indeed, any such movement is, under present circumstances, so hopelessly out of the question,

that I see no reason to doubt the statement of trustworthy natives, that the recent so-called conspiracy, by which the Turks have profited to seize many of the most intelligent and respected members of the community, existed only in the lying reports of Government spies and *agents provocateurs*.

As to this affair, the accounts that I have heard on all sides are most heart-rending. Such was the brutality with which these wholesale arrests were conducted that, in some cases, mere children were seized on political charges, and have since been as lost to their parents and relations as if the grave had swallowed them. To give a single instance: A boy of Üsküp, Toder Milco by name, aged 17, had written a letter to a friend in Bulgaria, in which he described some of the vexations to which the Christians here are subjected. This coming to the ears of the authorities, he was seized and carried off to Pristina, and, after being detained some time in prison there, was transported (with about 300 others) to Asia. All communication between the prisoners in Asia and their families has been cut off, and the only reports as to their condition that have reached their friends are due to a Servian schoolmaster, who succeeded in escaping. It appears that several have already fallen victims to the rigour of their imprisonment, and whatever reports to the contrary may have been spread by the Turkish authorities, not a single individual has hitherto been liberated. So far, indeed, is this from being the case, that the threat of further arrests is now continually made use of as a means of extortion. The chief places of detention seem to be Trebisonde, Djarbekir, Konjeh, and Acre, and several are still imprisoned in Salonica. Of the two chief informers, one is a Vlach of Pristina, who has since made himself Mahommedan, and swaggers about as "Omar Effendi." He has been decorated by the Sultan, and has just received a sum of money to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The other is no less a personage than the Fanariote Archbishop of Skoplje, Paysios—for the Porte still appoints here its "spiritual Pashas."

Were there any reasonable prospect of a successful uprising, the motives for it are certainly very strong. Since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, the Christian population of Dardania has been tyrannized over as it never has been before within the memory of man. No words of mine can sufficiently describe the abject slavery in which the peasantry of this region is at present held. In village after village that I visited, wherever the inhabitants had an opportunity of speaking to me out of official hearing, I heard everywhere the same tale; and all to which I myself was a witness corroborated its truth. The zaptiehs, the visible agents of the Turkish Government, are practically omnipotent. On the slightest provocation the peasants are beaten or hauled off to the filthy dungeons of Veless, Üsküp, or Pristina. The Turkish functionaries live at the villagers' expense, and the way in which food, &c., is thus "requisitioned" would lead any one suddenly planted here to imagine that the country was in the military occupation of some invader. The most crying grievance, however, is the forced labour, or "angaria," which is exacted here with merciless brutality. Some new military magazines and a new road to Kumanova being in course of construction, the "angaria" is just now exceptionally heavy, and I found villages the male population of which has had to undergo seven entire weeks of forced labour during the last four months. The value of hired labour here is about 6 to 10 piastres per diem, so that the money value of the labour thus exacted represents at a moderate estimate 294 piastres a-head, or nearly 900 piastres in the year. But the manner of enforcing this "angaria" considerably adds to its oppressiveness. No consideration is shown for the necessities of field labour, and men are literally beaten in from the plough or the harvest field. In most villages here the "métayer" system prevails—half the produce being paid to the Turkish landholder; in some of the mountain villages, however, the land is the peasant's own. It is, however, saddled with a land tax (varying according to the estimated value of each "dulum"), known as the "vergija," in addition to the payment of the Sultan's tithe. A poll tax of from 40 to 60 piastres (or more) is paid by every Rayah man and male child over 10 years of age, and is still known as the "haratch." The taxation itself, I imgine, is not so oppressive as the method of levying it and adding to it by irregular means. As a sample of the wholesale way in which the peasantry are "requisitioned," I may mention that on a market day, when all means of transport were specially needful to the villagers, I saw no less than twenty waggons with their drivers impressed by the Turks in a single large Bulgarian village.

In a large number of villages I found the churches fallen to ruin or non-existent altogether, and to my inquiries why they were not built or restored I received the never failing reply that their Turkish (*i.e.*, Mahommedan) neighbours would not allow it. This intolerance is not to be set down to the higher Turkish authorities, but to

the local fanatics, whom, however, it is no part of their policy to thwart. In the matter of schools, however, these higher authorities seem only too prone to act as the champions of obscurantism. It is now only a few weeks since they made a raid on the Bulgarian school at Üsküp, and seized and confiscated all the school books relating to history or geography. Henceforth the masters have had to content themselves with Church books. Everywhere the Christian schoolmaster is regarded as a suspected person, and with no class of the population is the dread of violence so constantly present.

Although a large part of the plain is vacouf of the mosques of Üsküp, the authorities deny that the Christian churches or monasteries can hold lands in their own name. On the death of the Hegumen of the Monastery of Boujanski a few weeks since, the authorities at Üsküp profited by the occurrence to seize and confiscate the lands of the monastery. The protests of the Orthodox community were unavailing, and, finally, to save the monastery from entire destitution, they had to repurchase the lands. The law of the land is still the Mahommedan religious law, and the complaints as to the non-admittance of Christian evidence are universal. As to the sentiments of the Christian population, I cannot do better than reproduce the words of a village Elder:—"There is no justice for us. We toil day and night, but the Turks take all our earnings, and even then they will not let us alone. We can't send our children to fetch water at the fountain but they are stoned or otherwise ill-treated. I tell you we will take off our caps to any King who comes to us. The yoke ('zulum') is more than we can bear."

July 1883.

No. 34.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

E
(No. 177.)

Foreign Office, August 15, 1883.

Sir,

THE Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires called upon me this afternoon, and referred to the conversation recorded in my despatch No. 172 of the 4th instant, with regard to the representations made to the Bulgarian Government as to their treatment of foreigners. He said that the Austro-Hungarian Government had not initiated the proceedings, but had followed the representations made by Germany and France. They considered that England was as much interested as Austria-Hungary in regard to the particular subject of complaint, but they were ready to support us and the French Government, especially as against the plea of *non-recevoir* which had been advanced by the Bulgarian Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 35.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received August 16.)

E
(No. 56.)

Sophia, August 2, 1883.

My Lord,

ON the 27th ultimo I had an interview with the Prince of Bulgaria, who requested me to state to him exactly the state of my relations with the Bulgarian Government, as a report had reached him that I had broken off diplomatic relations. I replied that there had been no breaking off of diplomatic relations, but that I had received your Lordship's instructions to make no further communication to the Bulgarian Government on the subject of the Varna-Rustchuk Railway question until I should have received an answer to my note of the 3rd April. I had since received a telegram from your Lordship, which I had communicated to M. Zancoff on the previous day, instructing me to press again for an answer to my note.

His Highness having asked me whether I was personally opposed to the Generals, I replied that I had no cause of complaint against them, but that, on the contrary, General Kaulbars appeared to me to be anxious to arrange matters in a satisfactory manner. It was owing to him that I received an answer to my note of the 4th May, and I quite understood that, during the absence of His Highness and so many members of the Bulgarian Government, it was impossible that his Excellency should have done more than he had done. But although I had no reason to complain of my personal

relations with General Kaulbars, it was impossible for me to agree with the opinions which his Excellency had expressed with regard to the religous question and to the abolition of the Capitulations, and I repeated to His Highness the substance of the language which General Kaulbars had held to me on these subjects, as reported in my despatches Nos. 49 and 51 of the 20th and 25th June. I also alluded to the closing of the American schools, which appeared to me to be a case of religious intolerance.

His Highness then said that he was placed in a position of great difficulty. There was a great deal of discontent in the country at the present state of things, and he would be very glad to remedy it by getting rid of the Russian element in the Cabinet, and placing the government in the hands of Bulgarians. Russian influence was, however, much stronger in the country than was generally supposed, and His Highness did not think it would be possible to find a Bulgarian statesman capable of forming a Cabinet strong enough to maintain itself against the opposition it would meet with. The leaders of the Conservative party had no great following in the country, and were not even able to count upon a majority in the present Chamber, which was elected under their auspices. It was true that it would be necessary to hold supplementary elections to fill the vacant seats, which would evidently result in the return of Members favourable to the party in power at the time. The Bulgarian people, moreover, did not willingly recognize the authority of any person belonging to their own nationality, and His Highness cited the case of the army, where it was found that the soldiers obeyed the orders of Russian non-commissioned officers more readily than those of Bulgarian officers.

I observed that I had heard from various sources that great discontent prevailed in the country, and that this discontent was now being expressed in language which a short time ago would not have been employed by any Bulgarian. It appeared to me that as long as the dissensions between the Liberal and Conservative parties continued it would be easy for the Russians to maintain their position, and that a reconciliation of the two parties would be the only means of counterbalancing Russian influence.

To this His Highness replied that the hatred which existed between the two parties was so intense that a reconciliation was out of the question. He had more than once attempted to bring it about, and he was convinced that even if the two parties united for the purpose of ridding the country of the Russian Generals, they would split up as soon as their object had been attained.

I told His Highness that I fully understood the difficulty of the position in which he was placed, but that it appeared to me essential that he should take a decision in one sense or the other without delay. If he decided upon getting rid of his Russian Ministers, it would be advisable to do so at once, as the longer they remained in power after His Highness' return the more difficult would the task become. If, on the other hand, His Highness decided to maintain the present Ministers, it would be better that the fact should be made known, in order to put an end to the uncertainty which existed at present.

The impression left on my mind by this interview was that the Prince is very anxious to get rid of the two Generals, but that he is very undecided as to the means to be employed for that purpose. His Highness' indecision is perhaps increased by a telegram which I am informed he has received from the Emperor of Russia, in which His Majesty states that he has learnt that the Prince intended to obtain from the Chamber a vote of want of confidence in the Russian Generals, and that he cannot for a moment admit that the Bulgarian Chamber should pass such a vote with regard to two Russian officers who had been designated by His Majesty himself at the personal request of the Prince. His Majesty therefore counts upon the Prince to prevent the occurrence of such an incident, and expresses the desire that His Highness should not take any decision until the arrival at Sophia of M. Jonine, who has recently been appointed as Russian Agent and Consul-General.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 36.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received August 16.)

E
(No. 58.)

Sophia, August 6, 1883.

My Lord,

THE day before yesterday I received a visit from M. Stoïloff, one of the leaders the Conservative party, who has recently returned to Sophia. He informed me

that efforts were being made to bring about a reconciliation between the Liberals and Conservatives, with every prospect of success. A programme had been drawn up which the moderate members of the Liberal party were ready to accept, and M. Zancoff himself, the former President of the Council of Ministers, was said to perceive the necessity of a reconciliation to prevent the evils which a continuance of the present Government would entail upon the country. If the reconciliation should take place, a Ministry composed of both Liberals and Conservatives would be formed to carry on the administration of the country, and to prepare a revision of the Constitution to be eventually submitted to the Great National Assembly. M. Stoïloff was of opinion that it would be better not to proceed in a hurry with the revision of the Constitution, and that a year and a-half might be allowed to elapse before a return to a Constitutional form of government. He believed there would not be much difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Liberals to this proposal, and M. Stoïloff had left for Wratza for the purpose of consulting M. Zancoff.

M. Stoïloff also informed me that the Prince had determined to convoke the Chamber for the early part of September, in order to submit to it the Railway Convention signed at Vienna on the 9th May, the ratifications of which must be exchanged before the month of October, and that the Decree for the elections necessary for filling up the vacant seats would shortly be published. This measure was opposed by General Kaulbars, who was of opinion that there was no necessity for convoking the Chamber until November or December, and that the ratifications of the Convention might be exchanged without consulting the Chamber. Another measure which the Prince had felt bound to take was to annul the appointments of three Prefects who had been appointed by General Kaulbars during His Highness' absence, and to reinstate their predecessors, who had been dismissed by his Excellency. His Highness had also determined to remove M. Theocharoff from his post as Minister of Justice, on account of his having dismissed a large number of Judges, all of whom His Highness insisted should be reinstated.

There can be no doubt that these three measures must be very distasteful to General Kaulbars and his colleagues, and it is possible that the Prince has adopted them in the hope that his Excellency would be induced to send in his resignation. He has, however, not done so, and seems inclined to yield in every respect to the wishes of the Prince, at all events until the arrival of his colleague General Sobouleff, who I understand is about to leave St. Petersburgh for Sophia.

I have since heard that the Prince has ordered a Decree to be prepared appointing M. Stoïloff, whom the two Russian Generals regard as their bitterest enemy, to be Bulgarian Agent at St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 37.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 16.)

(No. 218. Confidential.)

Vienna, August 13, 1883.

My Lord,

THE newspapers have announced the arrival at Rustchuk of a large supply of military stores, including guns from Russia, for the Bulgarian Government.

Count Kálnoky is not at present aware whether this report is correct, but he told me confidentially that as there was no doubt of the continual arrival in Bulgaria of such stores from Russia he had felt himself at last obliged, in an informal manner, to make a representation on the subject at St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 38.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

E
(No. 178.)

Foreign Office, August 17, 1883.

Sir,

THE Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires told me this afternoon that M. Stoïloff, the Bulgarian Minister, had just passed through Vienna, and had pressed Count

Kálnoky to defer any representation to the Bulgarian Government on the subject of the treatment of foreigners. M. Stoiloff said that the Prince was afraid that such a representation might be used as a weapon against him, and that he would be said to be under foreign influence.

Count Kálnoky, M. Hengelmüller added, was of opinion that affairs in Bulgaria were in such a state of confusion that it might be better to defer any communication, and he has telegraphed to the Austro-Hungarian Representative at Sophia to abstain from action for the present.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 39.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 180. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 17, 1883.

THE Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires told me confidentially this afternoon that Count Kálnoky had received reports from the Austro-Hungarian Agents in Bulgaria of considerable arrivals of arms from Russia.

I said that I had not recently received any information on the subject, but that I would make inquiries, and would communicate to the Austro-Hungarian Government any particulars which might reach me.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 40.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, August 18.)

E

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le* 8 *Avril* (? *Août*), 1883.

JE me suis déjà trouvé plus d'une fois dans le cas d'entretenir votre Excellence des plaintes des Musulmans de la Bulgarie et de la situation regrettable dans laquelle ils se trouvent. Malheureusement, en dépit des assurances qui nous ont été données de tous côtés et de la promesse des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin d'intervenir en leur faveur à Sophia, leur triste sort continue à empirer de plus en plus. Cela est si vrai qu'une Commission composée de fonctionnaires Bulgares, chargée tout récemment d'ouvrir une enquête sur les plaintes des Musulmans, vient d'en reconnaître elle-même le bien fondé. Cet état de choses a provoqué dans la Principauté un grand mouvement d'émigration qui se développe de jour en jour; il s'est traduit, pour l'année actuelle seulement, par le départ de plus de 20,000 Musulmans. Ces malheureux se trouvent ainsi réduits à abandonner leurs foyers, leurs biens, pour se dérober aux exactions dont ils sont continuellement l'objet. En outre, toutes les affaires débattues au sein de la Commission Turco-Bulgare continuent à se heurter invariablement à des lenteurs et à des difficultés sans nombre soulevées par les Délégués Princiers.

Le Gouvernement Bulgare, il est vrai, a tout dernièrement décrété certaines mesures destinées à donner satisfaction aux plaintes des Musulmans; mais ces mesures sont dérisoires en comparaison de la situation à laquelle elles sont appelées à remédier. Outre qu'elles ne tiennent pas compte des principaux griefs de ces malheureux, leur application même semble problématique. En signalant ce qui précède à votre Excellence, je la prie de vouloir bien y attirer la sérieuse attention de M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et l'engager instamment à faire parvenir une fois pour toutes à Sophia des représentations énergiques de nature à rappeler enfin le Gouvernement Bulgare au sentiment de ses obligations.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. AARIFI.

No. 41.

Mr. Bitker to Earl Granville.—(Received August 21.)

(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, August* 20, 1883.

My Lord,

AS my seven years' residence in Servia and the adjacent countries of the Balkan Peninsula has given me special means of knowledge of the political sentiments and aspirations of the Servian people, I venture to address to your Lordship a few remarks on the significance of the recent marriage between Prince Peter Kara-Georgevitch and the Princess Zorka of Montenegro:—

1. The present reigning dynasty in Servia owes any hold it may still have on the loyalty of the people (*a*) to the merits of Prince Milosh, who took up the Servian movement towards independence at the point where Kara-George, in a moment of panic, abandoned it, and took refuge outside the limits of the Turkish Empire; (*b*) to the able and patriotic administration of Prince Michael, who not only succeeded, without bloodshed, in bringing about the surrender of the fortress of Belgrade to the Servians (who naturally regarded the presence of a Turkish garrison there as a badge of servitude, and as a constant menace to their tranquillity and to their aspirations), but also by his ability, energy, and self-sacrifice won from the people the title of "the Patriot Prince."

2. King Milan, as the reigning member of Prince Michael's dynasty, enjoys to some extent the respect and loyalty earned by that Prince, though, on the other hand, His Majesty is often compared with his really illustrious predecessor, and there can be no doubt that he suffers severely from the comparison.

3. Prince Milosh's memory is generally revered by the Servian people, but at the same time, they do not forget his selfishness, which evinced itself in many ways, *e.g.*, in monopolizing the pig trade, which then constituted almost the entire commerce of Servia, nor is it forgotten that he was at least privy to the murder of his great rival, Kara-George, the first Servian to strike a serious blow for Servian liberty. On the whole, it is doubtful whether King Milan enjoys any great amount of reflected glory from Prince Milosh, especially as he has, unfortunately, none of that Prince's courage and candour.

4. King Milan is suspected by a large proportion of his subjects of a desire to sacrifice their interests to advance his own and those of his dynasty, and, unfortunately, His Majesty and his present advisers have been weak enough to give grounds, only too real, for such suspicions (especially with regard to the railway affair and "concessions to Austria"), although it cannot be too clearly understood that (contrary to prevalent suspicions) neither the King nor any single member of his present Administration has the slightest inclination to play into the hands of Austria, except so far as may be absolutely necessary for playing her off against Russia. But the King's apparent cordiality with Austria has had a most prejudicial effect on his popularity with his subjects, which has never been very great since he left Alexinatz in haste, at the moment when Prince Milosh or Prince Michael would have deemed it of the last importance to stay, viz., the moment of danger. This sudden departure of Prince Milan in presence of the Turkish army was, rightly or wrongly, treated as an evidence of personal cowardice, a fault which Servians find it difficult to forgive in a Prince, and it is a fault which King Milan has, unfortunately, not found an opportunity of redeeming.

5. As regards the rival Royal Family, it is evident to any one who has lived any considerable time amongst the Servian people that they have an intense veneration for its founder, Kara-George, though they seldom speak of him before strangers; and his treacherous assassination is considered a martyrdom. It is true that the Skuptchina deposed his son Alexander, but that proves little more, in this instance, than that the Skuptchina claims the right to depose Sovereigns who are unable or unwilling to defend the interests of the country, and the electors of the Skuptchina still consider that this right remains unimpaired, especially in the case of a breach of the Constitution, and consequently of the coronation oath. As to the supposed complicity of the Kara-Georgevitch family in the murder of the "good Prince Michael," as he is affectionately called, the people do not, as a rule, believe it, and those who, as exceptions to the rule, do, appear to justify it on the ground that both Milosh and Kara-George were "Haiduks" (literally "robbers," but seldom used, except in the sense of "robbers of the enemy"). It was a rule with the Haiduks, to which each one had to swear obedience, that the death of a Haiduk should be avenged by his family and colleagues on the person or family of his "murderer" (for a Haiduk's life was sacred,

and to take it under any circumstances was murder). So that even supposing the family of Kara-George implicated in the murder of his "murderer's" son, they would be justified by the rule of the Haiduks, and that is considered by Servians of the old school as an adequate explanation of a possible act of vengeance which they universally deplore. It is difficult for foreigners to appreciate such a justification coupled with such a regret; but the difficulty disappears when one studies the history of Servia amongst those who helped to make it, viz., the survivors of Prince Milosh's time.

But however this may be, Prince Peter Kara-Georgevitch himself has never been suspected of complicity in Prince Michael's murder, and his prospects of some day being called on to rule over the Servian people are little, if at all, prejudiced by that deplorable crime. These prospects were not great so long as he was plain Prince Peter, but they have become undoubtedly serious now that he is the husband of the Montenegrin Princess Zorka, for in that character he may by possibility become the virtual ruler of Montenegro, the Herzegovina, and the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, in which case there would at once be a revival of the "idea" for the annexation of Servia with Montenegro. Russia would no doubt have a powerful voice with all Servians interested in the question, and in all probability she would give it in favour of Prince Peter rather than of King Milan, who has thrown himself entirely into the hands of Austria, not willingly, it is true, but as the only refuge from the dictation of Russia.

6. As to Russian influence in Servia, it is important to remember that it rises and falls in synchronism with the fluctuations of the danger for the time being of Servia falling under Austrian domination or dominating influence. The Serbs aspire to perfect independence, and they detest Austria-Hungary with a sincerity which the Hungarians at all events fully reciprocate; at the same time, they are suspicious of Russia, and only accept her as the less of two evils. It would be too much to say that the Servians are altogether ungrateful to Russia, but they do not regard her assistance as purely disinterested, and they do not forget Russia's "big Bulgaria" of San Stefano, or her "sacrifice" of Bosnia and the Herzegovina to Austria. Still, the assistance of Russia being absolutely necessary to the realization of that unity which the Serbs are ever aspiring to, they will affect as much good grace as possible in conceding to Russia a large share in the shaping of their destinies so far as regards the selection of the person to preside over them.

7. Considering the claims of Prince Peter as the descendant of Kara George, the "Liberator," as the husband of the Princess Zorka, and as the protégé of Russia, he has, in my humble judgment, become a serious rival to King Milan, who himself is very unpopular by reason of his reputation for selfishness, his apparent subserviency to Austria, and, above all, by his ill-advised persistency in retaining unconstitutionally an Administration which has no hold on the confidence of the country, and which has seated in the National Assembly its own defeated candidates, some of whom had but two votes. The marriage just solemnized at Cettinjé has cut off all retreat for King Milan, who would now appear to hold his throne entirely on sufferance from Austria, and the painful possibility presents itself that his career may be determined suddenly either by the hand of a Socialist assassin, or by a formal deposition of the Skuptchina (when that Assembly shall be legally constituted), as was the case with Alexander Kara-Georgevitch in 1858.

I am, &c.
(Signed) A. BAKER.
Late British Vice-Consul at Nisch.

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.

(No. 51. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 22, 1883.*

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna recording an observation made to me by the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires with regard to the arrival of arms in Bulgaria from Russia.

I have to instruct you to ascertain and report to me to what extent the importa-

tion of arms has continued since the receipt of the information contained in your despatch No. 107 of the 7th July, 1881.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 43.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received August 25.)

E
(No. 122. Confidential.) *Cettinjé, August 10, 1883.*
(Extract.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS has to-day informed me that he is going to Constantinople, under the direct advice of M. Giers, who, together with M. Nelidoff and Server Pasha, at the coronation at Moscow, insisted that a compliance with the solicitation would be a public proof of His Highness' peaceable views.

The Prince, however, added that he did not share M. Giers' hope of favourable results from the visit, as he had no intention of allowing himself to be treated as a vassal, nor even of foregoing the least of the rights bestowed on Montenegro by the Treaty of Berlin.

His Highness warmly repelled the idea that an offensive and defensive alliance had been arranged between Turkey and the Principality, on the ground that his people would never consent to fight on the side of the infidel.

In this matter, however, as has happened in that of the visit to the Sultan, I make no doubt it would be found that His Highness would be prepared to subordinate his views to those of the Russian Government.

No. 44.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received August 25.)

(No. 126.) *Cettinjé, August 13, 1883.*
My Lord,

I VENTURE to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that, though the North Albanian frontier tribes have been brought completely under the subjection of the Turkish authorities, and though the recent military operations against them were commenced on the express ground of at once carrying out the transfer of territory yet remaining to be ceded to Montenegro, still, as yet, neither the Montenegrin Government nor the Turkish authorities seem to be in the least pressing the settlement of the matter.

It is not surprising, therefore, that reports should have arisen that negotiations are going on for the retrocession of Dulcigno and the accomplishment of the Corti Convention.

Should such an arrangement be accomplished it would be needless to say that it would have the result of ultimately putting Montenegro in possession of North Albania.

As the Sultan must be already fully aware of this fact, I hardly think the contemplation of it need disturb others, especially when it cannot be denied that a change of Government would allow the natural riches which are now lying dormant in North Albania to immediately enter upon their path of legitimate development.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 45.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received August 25.)

(No. 15.) *Salonica, August 15, 1883.*
My Lord,

WITH reference to my Report No. 13 of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copies of a despatch and one

inclosure which I have addressed to Mr. Wyndham on the subject of two serious acts of brigandage which have been recently perpetrated in Macedonia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

Consul-General Blunt to Mr. Wyndham.

Salonica, August 12, 1883.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, forwarding information on the condition of affairs in the Vilayet of Monastir, I have the honour to inclose the extract from a recent letter of my Correspondent at Monastir reporting the capture by brigands of the leading members of the Sub-Governorship of Florina, viz., the Kaïmakam (Sub-Governor), Cadi (Judge), and Mal-Mudiri (Receiver of Taxes).

Florina (Filorna in Turkish) is a market town, with a population of 7,000 souls. It is about five hours to the south-west of Monastir, the capital of the vilayet, and the head-quarters of the Third Army Corps!

My Correspondent further reports the particulars of another very grave outrage which was perpetrated on the 4th instant in the vicinity of Perlepé, a town about six hours to the north of Monastir.

It is also with a feeling of pain that I have to report another occurrence, which has caused general sensation in this place.

Mehmed Pasha, while on a visit to his farm of Ghida, in the district of Veria (Caraferia), about six hours from here, was surprised and captured on the 8th instant by a band of brigands, composed of nine native Greeks and four Tosca Albanians, under the leadership of Katzaro.

A very heavy ransom (some people say 20,000*l.*) is demanded for his release, and Hassan Pasha, the Military Governor, who is directly responsible for the maintenance of public security, has gone to the spot to attend to the matter.

The capture of Mehmed Pasha was not effected without some resistance on the part of his attendants, for three of them were wounded in trying to defend his Excellency. They wounded two of the brigands, one of them so severely that he could not follow his band; he was subsequently apprehended and brought to Salonica. He has made some important disclosures, which have enabled the authorities to lay hands on several persons who connived at the outrage.

Mehmed Pasha is more than 65 years old; he is a member of the Administrative Council of this vilayet, and the lineal descendant of Ali Bey Ewrenos, the conqueror of Salonica (A.D. 1430); he is respected and loved by all classes of the population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

Extract from a Letter from Consul-General Blunt's Correspondent at Monastir.

UNTIL of late there has been nothing startling or important to write you about, so I have delayed sending you any information about the condition of things in this region.

We were rather startled, 27th July, to hear that the evening previous about 100 brigands entered the town of Florina, and carried off the Kaïmakam (Sub-Governor), the Mal-Mudiri (Receiver of Taxes), and two or three others, besides a zaptieh.

The affair appears to have been managed very cleverly, for they seem to have bagged their game before any one else suspected what was going on, and to have got off without hurting anybody or being hurt.

The Vali, Ahmet Eyoub Pasha, appears to be trying to capture them, and to this end seems to have set a lot of soldiers to scouring the mountains. Nothing, as far as I can learn, has been the result so far, and it is too late now to hope for much, except the arrest of villagers suspected of having fed or aided the brigands.

Last Saturday, the 4th instant, I went on a visit to Perlepé. About 5 P.M. the same day a volley or two of rifles was heard by several. It afterwards turned out to be a most revolting massacre.

Some ten or twelve villagers from the village Doonya, in the Morihova district, four or five hours from Perlepé, while returning from the market in Perlepé, had passed the Chesmeh fountain, two-thirds the way up the mountain east-by-south of Perlepé, when, without warning, from two places, one partly in front and one behind, they were greeted by a shower of bullets. Three were killed and three badly wounded. It was said, and confirmed by two or three others, that the wounded men said they saw nobody, as the murderers were hidden behind stones. All indications show that the shooting was not done for plunder.

The alleged causes, as I heard them, were—

1. The village had secured the dismissal of the Yazuji, and he and his friends were paying them off.

2. The band of robber-hunters that were trying to catch George Lazoff and his brigand followers were returning to spend Baïram, and, as they had had a fruitless search, they took it into their heads to try their guns on a party of Bulgarian villagers, as unsuccessful hunters might think it fine to fire upon a flock of tame geese.

3. That the brigand Chief, George Lazoff, and his band had done it, to punish the village for being an active party to the arrest of the father and brother of one of their number.

Though there have been a few murders this summer, the number has been less than usual, and, up to the raid on Florina, the state of the country was better than in past years. Since that raid murders and violence are more common. I was told that this brigand Chief, George Lazoff, had killed several villagers because they had informed the Government of their whereabouts. Those poor villagers are between the upper and the nether millstone.

This Lazoff, though vigorously (for Turks) hunted the last three years, has carried on his brigandage (more for revenge than money) and eluded his pursuers.

There was some discontent in this region because so much was asked of the inhabitants to make roads. The Vali, Eyoub Pasha, however, has carried out most of his plans, or is progressing well in their execution. The universal testimony is that he takes no bribes, but the accusations against most of his subordinates are neither few nor weak.

The harvest this year is, I believe, above the average, though not up to previous expectations.

The public examinations were, I believe, quite creditable to all the schools. As soon as they were over, reports were circulated that the Roumanians were quarrelling among themselves over money matters, and that the Bulgarians were having a family "pow-wow."

Both Bulgarians and Roumanians have referred their "unpleasantnesses" to Constantinople.

Just now there is a report that, a few days ago, the brigands entered Malovishté village, and supplied themselves with bread.

August 8, 1883.

No. 46.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 170.) *Therapia, August* 17, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Mr. Consul-General Blunt's despatch No. 49 of the 12th instant, copy of which he has forwarded to your Lordship, I have the honour to state that I have brought the unsettled state of the Vilayet of Monastir to the notice of the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 47.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 24, 1883.

(Extract.)

I HAD while at the Palace of Geouk Scouh some conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Prince of Montenegro, Voivode Radonich, who informed me in reply to my inquiry as to whether any progress had been made with reference to the line of frontier between Turkey and Montenegro, that the Sultan had stated that he had sent most categorical orders to the Vali of Scutari to arrange the question, but M. Radonich added that the visit of a Turkish official had been announced to him to discuss certain points which led him to fear that there might still be some difficulties to overcome before a settlement was arrived at.

No. 48.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 25, 1883.

(No. 485.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to state to your Lordship that I have received two despatches from Mr. Acting Consul-General Tarring, inclosing reports from Mr. Vice-Consul Dussi, which give a deplorable account of the brigandage now existing in the neighbourhood of Rodosto.

I have called the attention of the Sublime Porte to the state of affairs as reported.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 49.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 25, 1883.

(No. 486.)

My Lord,

MR. CONSUL-GENERAL BLUNT forwarded to me a copy of his despatch No. 13 of the 30th ultimo, which he had addressed to your Lordship, and I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have brought to the notice of the Sublime Porte the condition of affairs in the Vilayet of Monastir, as reported in the Memorandum inclosed in Mr. Blunt's above-mentioned despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 50.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

Constantinople, August 25, 1883.

E

(No. 490.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch received by Mr. Acting Consul-General Tarring from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Gallipoli, reporting the number of Mussulman emigrants who have passed through Gallipoli to Asia between the dates of the 1st April last and the 15th of this month.

Your Lordship will perceive that Mr. Odoni states that these emigrants come chiefly from the Bulgarian Principality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

Inclosure in No. 50.

Vice-Consul Odoni to Acting Consul-General Tarring.

Gallipoli, le 18 Août, 1883.

Monsieur,

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que depuis le 1er Avril dernier jusqu'au 15 de ce mois, sont arrivés à Gallipoli et ont été transportées en Asie environ 3,000 familles d'émigrants Musulmans venant presque tous de la Bulgarie.

Chaque famille possède au moins un charriot et une paire de bœufs ou de bufiles, plus quelques objets de première nécessité.

Il y en a parmi eux qui possèdent des troupeaux de moutons et de chèvres et plusieurs paires de bœufs, bufiles, et vaches.

En général, les hommes sont bien faits et d'une très robuste constitution. Les femmes et les enfants paraissent avoir beaucoup souffert des fatigues de la route et de la mauvaise nourriture.

Pour passer en Asie (Tchardah vis-à-vis Gallipoli), ils payent 25 piastres pour une famille, un charriot, une paire de bœufs ou bufiles, et tous les autres objets. Tous ont de quoi payer ce passage.

On assure qu'il y en a encore beaucoup qui arrivent et au moment que j'écris on annonce l'arrivée de soixante familles.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. ODONI.

No. 51.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

Vienna, August 27, 1883.

(No. 230. Confidential.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 180, Confidential, stating that M. Hengelmüller had mentioned the report received by Count Kálnoky of the arrival in Bulgaria of a considerable supply of arms from Russia, I have the honour to inform you that his Excellency now tells me that he has ascertained it to have been greatly exaggerated.

It seems that no guns have lately arrived, and Count Kálnoky is disposed to attribute the report to the Roumanians, who show so much anxiety to spread a belief that preparations are being made for hostile operations on the Danube.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 52.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, August 30.)

E

Sublime Porte, le 22 Août, 1883.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

VOTRE Excellence sait que Son Altesse le Prince de Monténégro vient d'arriver à Constantinople pour rendre visite à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Ce voyage ayant donné lieu à divers commentaires en Europe, je crois devoir vous édifier sur son véritable caractère.

A la suite de la solution donnée aux difficultés qui avaient surgi au sujet de la délimitation des frontières Turco-Monténégrines, le Prince Nicolas, ainsi qu'il le déclare lui-même dans la Proclamation qu'il a adressée à son peuple avant son départ de Cettigné, a tenu à venir en personne à Constantinople pour témoigner à Sa Majesté Impériale les sentiments de sincère respect et d'amitié dont il est animé à son égard.

Cette visite n'a donc d'autre but que de raffermir les relations de bon voisinage qui se sont si heureusement établies entre les deux pays. Elle aura sans doute aussi pour effet de faciliter le réglement de quelques points de détail ayant trait à la délimitation qui restent encore en suspens.

L'accueil que notre auguste Maître et son Gouvernement ont fait à l'illustre voyageur a été aussi amical que gracieux, et nous aimons à espérer que Son Altesse en emportera le meilleur souvenir.

K

Votre Excellence voudra bien s'exprimer dans le sens qui précède toutes les fois que l'occasion s'en présentera.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. AARIFI.

No. 53.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received August 31, 8 A.M.)

(No. 14.)
(Telegraphic.)

Sophia, August 30, 1883, 10·30 P.M.

THE Prince of Bulgaria having asked General Soboleff to resign his post in the Bulgarian Cabinet, his Excellency produced a letter, signed by the Emperor of Russia, instructing him to remain at his post, even if His Highness should desire him to leave it.

I should be glad to hear if this telegram reaches you, as General Soboleff is said to have given orders to stop all telegrams which are not countersigned by him.

No. 54.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, August 31.)

(No. 66. Ext. 14.)

Sophia, August 30, 1883.

My Lord,

GENERAL SOBOLEFF, having been desired by the Prince of Bulgaria to send in his resignation, replied by producing a letter, signed by the Emperor of Russia, instructing him not to leave his post, even though His Highness should desire him to do so.

As General Soboleff is reported to have given orders to stop all telegrams not countersigned by him, I should be glad to hear if this reaches your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 55.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, September 1.)

Constantinople, le 30 Août, 1883.

(Télégraphique.)

VOUS avez sans doute eu connaissance des avis qui ont dernièrement signalé certains transports militaires, et des mouvements de troupes effectués en Bulgarie. D'après nos renseignements il a été expédié, en effet, le 5 Août, de Roustchouk à Sophia, 24 canons, 800 tentes, 1 schlep, ainsi que des fusils et des munitions de guerre en grande quantité. En même temps une activité inusitée règne dans la fabrique d'armes de Roustchouk, devant laquelle se trouve beaucoup de matériel. Il est vrai qu'on explique ce déploiment de forces par les manœuvres d'automne qui auront lieu à Sophia. Néanmoins, les préparatifs dont il s'agit semblent trop considérables en regard de l'objet auquel ils sont attribués, d'autant plus que tout dernièrement encore deux schleps sont partis de Roustchouk pour Loumbanka, dont l'un chargé de canons et l'autre d'infanterie. En outre, le bruit court à Roustchouk que de nouvelles troupes arriveront prochainement de l'intérieur. Cette situation mérite d'attirer l'attention des Grandes Puissances. Je vous prie de la signaler à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères au cours de vos conversations avec son Excellence.

No. 56.

Mr. J. G. Kennedy to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3.)

E

(No. 199. Confidential.)

St. Petersburgh, August 30, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that, at my visit yesterday to the Foreign Department, M. de Giers spoke to me at considerable length, but in a despondent tone,

in regard to the state of Bulgaria. His Excellency informed me that the French and other Representatives had brought to his notice the neglect by the Bulgarian authorities of the lawful and undisputed claims of their countrymen. In reply to all such representations, his Excellency could only say that the state of Bulgaria was one of great confusion, and that patience was necessary. M. de Giers then proceeded to give me a sketch of the history of Bulgaria, from the installation of Prince Alexander to the present day. His Excellency said that Prince Alexander of Hesse had been selected by Russia, in view of his Russian and German, and of his freedom from slave connection, that he had never shown any fitness for his post, and had never evinced any anxiety to understand the interests of Bulgaria, nor what was due to Russia or to the Porte. His chief care had been to form a smart army, and to establish a family order, notwithstanding his position as vassal of the Porte. Russia, said his Excellency, would willingly withdraw the Russian officials who had been lent to His Highness to assist in the task of government, but their withdrawal would be the signal for the departure of Prince Alexander. Quite recently, continued his Excellency, the Russian Government had sent M. Jonine (the lately-appointed Minister to the Court of Brazil) to Sophia, in order to place his great experience and knowledge of Eastern affairs at the disposal of the Prince. Great results were expected from M. Jonine's mission, which would last perhaps for a year. Meanwhile, all M. de Giers asked was that European Powers should bear patiently with Bulgaria. His Excellency further alluded to the difficulties caused by the existence of the Capitulations, and also to financial embarrassments, and to the pending question of railways, for the construction of which a St. Petersburgh Company sought a Concession. Owing to the immediate departure of the Queen's messenger, I can only give your Lordship the above hurried sketch of M. de Giers' remarks; but I hope on a future occasion to have the honour of reporting more fully to your Lordship on the state of Bulgaria. M. de Giers' language certainly betrayed great anxiety in regard to the prospects of Bulgaria, and at the same time an uneasy confidence that M. Jonine's mission would generally set matters aright.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. KENNEDY.

No. 57.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2, 8·15 A.M.)

(No. 15.)
(Telegraphic.)

Sophia, September 2, 1883, 3·50 A.M.

PRINCE OF BULGARIA, who is suffering from severe indisposition, sent for me this morning to speak to me upon the state of affairs. He had desired the Russian Ministers to resign, but they had refused to do so, as they had been ordered by the Emperor to remain at their posts, even though His Highness should desire them to leave.

M. Jonine and the two Generals had now made following demands:—Renunciation of Prince's full powers; convocation of Great National Assembly in two months; maintenance of present Ministry until Constitution is established; Prince shall not sign any Decree or sanction any Law without the consent of the Ministers, or refuse to sanction any measure which they may submit to him.

Prince said that if he consulted his personal feeling and dignity he would abdicate at once, especially after the insulting language which M. Jonine had used to him. He would, however, make another attempt to come to an understanding with the Russians, and he intended to agree to issue a Proclamation forming a Commission, under his presidency, for the revision of the Constitution, which should be submitted as soon as possible to the Great National Assembly; until then he would consent to maintain the present Ministry, but he must retain his liberty with regard to action of the Ministers. If the Russians refused this proposal, he would have no alternative but to leave the country.

I said that if the new Constitution were drawn up while the Generals were in office, they would probably find means of maintaining their power, and that in a Great National Assembly elected under their influence the question of the deposition of His Highness might be raised. I asked whether His Highness could not follow the advice both of MM. Zanoff and Grecoff to re-establish at once the old Constitution. His Highness replied that it would be too humiliating for him to do so; he did not

think the Russians would consent, and they were now masters of the situation. If, however, they did not accept his proposal, and drove him to abdicate, he would restore the old Constitution before leaving. He thought Russians would come to an arrangement, and as soon as a Constitution was established, General Soboleff would naturally have to resign; but he was afraid they might attempt to impose conditions which he could not accept, and he hoped in that case he might receive support from the other Great Powers.

No. 58.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, September 2.)

(No. 60. Ext. 15.)
Sophia, September 2, 1883.

My Lord,

THIS morning the Prince of Bulgaria sent for me to speak to me upon the present state of affairs. His Highness, who is suffering from severe indisposition, said that he had desired the Russian Ministers to send in their resignations, but that they had declined doing so, on the ground that the Emperor had ordered them to remain at their posts, even though His Highness should desire to dismiss them. The two Generals and M. Jomini had now made the following demands: the Prince must at once give up his full powers; the Great National Assembly shall be convoked in two months; the present Ministry shall be maintained until the re-establishment of a Constitution; the Prince shall not sanction any Law, nor sign any Decree, without the consent of his Ministers, nor shall His Highness refuse to sanction any measure which they may consider necessary.

The Prince told me that if he were to consult his personal sentiments and dignity he would at once abdicate, more especially after the insulting language which he had been obliged to listen to from M. Jomini. His Highness, however, would make a further attempt to arrive at an understanding with the Russians, and he was prepared to agree to issue a manifesto stating that a Commission would be formed, under his presidency, for the purpose of revising the Constitution. The revised project should be submitted to the Great National Assembly as soon as possible, and His Highness would consent to the present Ministry remaining in office until then. He must, however, reserve his liberty of action with regard to his Ministers. If these proposals should be refused by the Russians, he would be compelled to leave the country.

I pointed out that if the Generals remained in office while the new Constitution was being prepared, they would probably find means of maintaining themselves in power, and that there was a danger, in a Great National Assembly elected under their influence, of the question being raised of His Highness' deposition. I asked whether it would not be possible for His Highness to follow the course recommended both by M. Grecoff and by M. Zancoff, viz., that the old Constitution should be re-established at once. The Prince replied that such a course would be too humiliating for him. Moreover, the Russians, who were now the masters of the situation, would probably not consent. Should, however, they refuse to agree to his present proposals, and force him to abdicate, he would restore the old Constitution before he left the country. He was of opinion that the Russians would consent to come to an arrangement, and General Soboleff would naturally have to resign as soon as a Constitution was established; but His Highness feared that the Russians might subsequently attempt to force conditions upon him which he would not be able to accept; and he hoped that, if such were the case, the other Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin would afford him their support.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 59.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4, 5·40 P.M.)

(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, September 4, 1883, 4·45 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Minister for Foreign Affairs takes a very serious view of the incident in Mr. Lascelles' telegram No. 14, and considers the attitude of Russia so much at

variance with the Treaty and with the position assigned by it to Bulgaria as to approach very nearly to an annexation of the Principality.

He is surprised that the Prince should not at once have appealed to the Powers, but his last accounts make him suspect His Highness to have lost courage and to have submitted himself to the Russian Ministers.

No. 60.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 60.)
Sophia, August 16, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation in French of a Report which has been addressed to the Prince of Bulgaria by the Council of State, calling attention to the frequent violations of the existing Laws and Regulations of the Principality which had been committed by the present Ministers, and stating their opinion that it is indispensable that a Ministry should be formed which should be composed of Bulgarian subjects.

I have been informed that this Report was signed by the Vice-President, the President being absent, and five members of the Council of State, one of whom has since told General Kaulbars that he had been induced to sign the Report because he had been told that his doing so would be agreeable to the Prince, but that he was willing to withdraw his signature if his Excellency wished it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 60.

Report.

(Translation.)
Monseigneur,

DES violations fréquentes des Lois et des Règlements existant dans la Principauté ont été commises par les Ministres, notamment:

1. La nomination d'étrangers à des fonctions civiles, administratives et judiciaires qui pourraient être occupées par des sujets de votre Altesse, sans porter atteinte aux dispositions de l'Article 5 de la Loi sur les fonctionnaires.

2. Le versement de sommes au-dessus de 5,000 fr. à titre de prêts sans l'approbation du Conseil d'État.

3. La non-formation de la Commission Supérieure prévue par l'Article 24 de la Loi sur les fonctionnaires, quoique cette Loi ait été sanctionnée par votre Altesse le 16 Octobre de l'année dernière, ce qui amène des renvois fréquents et illégaux des fonctionnaires.

4. La promulgation de Lois contrairement aux dispositions législatives, et notamment:

(1.) Contrairement à l'Article 19 *b* du Statut du Conseil d'État ont été portés devant l'Assemblée Nationale sans discussion préalable du Conseil, les Projets de Loi sur la comptabilité, la Cour des Comptes, les vignes et les boissons spiritueuses, les terres des Circassiens et des Tartars, le recrutement des Musulmans, l'organisation du Haras, la culture du pavot et la fabrication de l'opium, l'impôt sur les immeubles; et

(2.) Contrairement à l'Article 19 *c* du Statut du Conseil d'État, ont été publiés sans discussion préalable dans le Conseil: la taxe des pharmaciens, le programme des examens des fonctionnaires des Postes et des Télégraphes, et le Statut des Tribunaux pour la Société des Officiers, la Loi sur l'Organisation Judiciaire de l'année présente est suspendue et on a remis en vigueur la Loi sur l'Organisation Judiciaire de 1880, qui fonctionne actuellement; le Statut des Caisses Agricoles a subi des changements de même que la Loi sur le complément de l'armée, la Loi sur les boissons, les instructions relatives aux Caisses de Districts, les états de l'École Militaire, et la taxe pharmaceutique, les modifications de la taxe pharmaceutique ont même été décidées sans Décret de votre Altesse, de même le programme des examens des fonctionnaires des Postes et Télégraphes est publié avec un simple Décret du Ministre, et le Statut des Tribunaux pour les officiers n'a même pas été publié, bien que la mise à exécution soit ordonnée par le Décret qui la sanctionne.

5. Les changements au projet de la Loi Communale, au Projet de Loi relatif aux Conseils de Districts, et au Projet de Loi sur les fonctionnaires, projets qui ont été élaborés par le Conseil d'État d'après les ordres de votre Altesse, n'ont pas été soumis au Conseil pour y être discutés, ainsi que l'exige l'Article 51 du Statut du Conseil d'État.

6. La non-présentation au Conseil d'État et à l'Assemblée Nationale du Rapport et des comptes de la Cour des Comptes sur la liquidation du Budget aussi bien que les lois financières mentionnées dans l'Article 29 b de la Loi sur les Conseils de Districts pour l'excédent des produits des impôts directs affectés aux districts et aux Conseils de Districts.

7. La nomination de deux fonctionnaires pour une seule et même fonction (MM. Gardoff et Marcoff, au Ministère des Finances) et la nomination, à l'insu du Conseil d'État, de M. Bastien, aux fonctions auxquelles il a été appelé.

8. Contrairement aux dispositions de la Loi sur la comptabilité du Budget et les adjudications publiques, l'adjudication publique de la construction d'un bâtiment pour le haras n'a pas été faite par les personnes compétentes, et avis n'a pas été donné, selon l'usage de cette adjudication; il y est résulté qu'il n'y a pas eu de concurrence, et, comme il n'y a pas eu le temps nécessaire pour publier de nouveaux avis, il a été nécessaire de faire construire un bâtiment en régie avec beaucoup plus de frais sans doute que par une entreprise.

9. L'abrogation de la remarque qui suit l'Article 102 de la Loi sur l'Organisation Judiciaire.

10. Les adjudications pour différentes constructions et fournitures n'ont pas été annoncées à temps mais trop tard, comme cela se fait à présent, au moment où les constructions ou livraisons sont nécessaires, ce qui fait que les entrepreneurs ne pouvant être à temps de faire leur possible pour réunir les matériaux nécessaires à bon marché, la construction et la livraison sont faites plus tard au détriment du Trésor (le haras, le bâtiment pour la section téchnique de l'École Militaire, la fourniture du drap et de la toile pour l'armée, les tentes militaires pour l'année 1883-84, et les écuries pour l'escorte de votre Altesse); et—

11. Le Décret sub No. 92, du 31 Mai par lequel, sans avoir pris l'avis du Conseil d'État, on institue les Tribunaux Militaires sommaires dans les villes de Tirnovo et de Rasgrad.

Le Conseil d'État, dans sa séance du 14 Juillet, ayant pris en considération le § 19 du Statut et le § 55 de son Règlement, a arrêté:

De porter à la connaissance souveraine les cas susmentionnés de violation des lois en vigueur et de soumettre en même temps à votre Altesse ce qui suit:—

(*a.*) La population a été égarée lorsque, à l'époque du couronnement de leurs Majestés Impériales, on lui a suggéré d'adresser ses félicitations non pas par l'entremise de votre Altesse, conformément à l'Article 17 de la Constitution, mais par celle du Général Soboleff, ce qui ne s'était jamais fait.

(*b.*) Le départ pour la Russie de MM. Bourmow et Zancow sans l'ordre de votre Altesse a produit sur la public une mauvaise impression.

(*c.*) La question soulevée pour l'envoi en Russie des fonds de réserve ne doit pas être résolue sans l'assentiment de la Chambre.

(*d.*) On ne doit ni recevoir ni retenir des étrangers au service de l'État, tandis qu'il y a déjà des sujets de votre Altesse qui y sont préparés pour les fonctions tant civiles que militaires.

(*e.*) La suspension de l'arrivée continuelle et la nomination d'officiers Russes dans l'armée Bulgare, par la seule volonté du Ministre de la Guerre et sans aucun besoin; et enfin—

(*g.*) Le Conseil d'État est d'avis que pour la bonne constitution du Gouvernement, il est indispensable de former un Ministère responsable et composé de sujets de votre Altesse.

Nous avons l'honneur de présenter ce qui précède à la haute décision de votre Altesse, conformément aux Articles 38 et 48 du Règlement du Conseil d'État.

(Pour le Ministre Président du Conseil d'État),
Le Vice-Président,
(Signé) N. MIHAILOWSKI.

No. 61.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 61.) *Sophia, August 20, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that General Soboleff returned to Sophia on the 15th instant.

On the following day I received a visit from his Excellency in the course of which I alluded to the state of affairs in Bulgaria. His Excellency said that the country was perfectly quiet, and although there had been some intrigues on the part of the enemies of Russia, matters would soon be put straight by a little hard work. In speaking of the Prince, his Excellency said that His Highness was still very young and was apt to pay too much attention to any one who spoke to him. There were several important questions which it would be necessary to deal with at once, the most important being that of the railways. The international line would certainly have to be made, but it was equally necessary in the interests of Bulgaria, Russia, and of general European commerce that the line from Sophia to Rustchuk should be constructed.

I have since learnt that General Soboleff has acquiesced in, or at all events has not objected to, the measures taken by the Prince, to which I had the honour to call your Lordship's attention in my despatch No. 58 of the 6th instant, as having been adopted with the view of inducing the Russian Generals to send in their resignation, and the general impression seems to be that the Generals are awaiting the arrival of M. Jonine before deciding upon their course of action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 62.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 62.) *Sophia, August 20, 1883.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 58 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that M. Stoïloff, having been appointed Bulgarian Agent at St. Petersburgh, left Sophia on the 10th instant.

I understand that M. de Giers, to whom M. Stoïloff's nomination had been communicated, has telegraphed to the Prince of Bulgaria to inform His Highness that M. Stoïloff cannot be recognized as Bulgarian Agent, and that he regards his mission to St. Petersburgh as useless and inopportune, as M. Jonine, who is shortly to arrive at Sophia as Russian Agent, enjoys the confidence of the Emperor, and would be the proper channel of communication between His Majesty and His Highness. To this the Prince replied that M. Stoïloff had already left Sophia, and as he was the only person authorized to speak on behalf of the Prince, His Highness hoped that he would be received in an unofficial character, and that later he might be officially recognized as Bulgarian Agent.

I have been informed that M. Stoïloff's instructions are to the following effect:—

He is to enlighten the Emperor and public opinion in Russia as to the real state of affairs in Bulgaria. He is to point out that although the Prince applied personally to the Emperor for the services of the Russian Generals, His Highness did so with the object of receiving assistance from them in the administration of the country, and not with the object of being supplanted by them; and he is to endeavour to obtain the consent of the Emperor and his Government to the formation of a Bulgarian Ministry and the cessation of Russian interference in the administration of the Principality.

On reaching Vienna M. Stoïloff had an interview with M. Jonine, who had arrived there on his way to Sophia, in consequence of which he telegraphed to the Prince to suggest that he should delay his journey to St. Petersburgh until after M. Jonine's arrival at Sophia. The Prince at once replied that M. Stoïloff should continue his journey without delay, as he foresaw that M. Jonine might try to induce His Highness to recall M. Stoïloff before he had reached St. Petersburgh. I understand that although His Highness' telegram was dispatched on the 16th instant, M. Stoïloff did not leave Vienna until this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 63.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 64.)
Sophia, August 23, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Jonine, the new Russian Agent and Consul-General, arrived at Sophia yesterday evening, and will have his official audience with the Prince of Bulgaria to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 64.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 65.)
Sophia, August 23, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the Agreement which has been signed by Messrs. Zancoff and Natchovitch, on behalf of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Bulgaria, with the view of bringing about a reconciliation between the two parties, to which I had the honour to refer in my despatch No. 63 of the 21st instant.

M. Zancoff has informed me that he and M. Natchovitch presented this Agreement to the Prince yesterday, and that His Highness expressed his satisfaction at the reconciliation which had taken place between the two parties, and his readiness to carry into execution the details which may be agreed upon by them.

M. Zancoff said that there would not be much difficulty in coming to an agreement with regard to the details. If it was decided that the elections for the Grand National Assembly should be held under the present Electoral Law, it would be necessary to introduce some modifications into it. It would also have to be settled whether the revision of the Constitution should be prepared by the Mixed Ministry, which would have to be formed, or by a Mixed Commission. M. Zancoff's own opinion was that the task should be intrusted to a Commission, as the Ministry would be fully occupied in carrying on the Administration. The most important point, however, was that the Prince should issue a Manifesto stating his intention to return to a Constitutional form of Government. Until this was done, the Mixed Ministry could not be formed, and it appeared that the Conservatives doubted whether the Prince would consent to issue such a Manifesto. M. Zancoff had in his first interview with the Prince explained the reasons which, in his opinion, made this measure necessary, and His Highness had not then raised any objection.

It has been decided that the meeting of the ordinary National Assembly, which has been convoked for the 14th September, shall take place, but the only questions which will be submitted to it will be the ratifications of the Railway Convention and the Budget. M. Zancoff thought the meeting of the Assembly would offer a good opportunity for His Highness to issue the Manifesto, or if His Highness preferred, it might be issued on His Highness' fête day, the 11th September. In any case, it was necessary that His Highness should make an appeal to the country, and his only anxiety was lest His Highness should delay doing so.

M. Zancoff also said that on the previous day he had called a meeting of the Liberal party, in which between fifty and sixty persons, who represented the whole of the Liberal party in Bulgaria, had taken part. At first great opposition was offered to a reconciliation with the Conservatives, or to any action hostile to the Russians, but the meeting concluded by entirely approving the action taken by M. Zancoff, and a document to that effect was signed by every one present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 64.

Agreement signed by MM. Zancoff and Natchovitch for the Reconciliation of the two Political Parties in Bulgaria.

(Translation.)

Object.

THE two parties have come to an agreement with the view of employing all their efforts to establish by legal means a Constitutional form of Government in the Principality.

Means.

1. The adhesion of His Highness will be given to this Agreement, and a promise made by His Highness to a deputation composed of persons belonging to the two parties that the points of this Agreement shall be executed in the shortest possible time.

2. The Grand National Assembly shall be convoked as soon as possible for the revision of the Constitution.

3. The revision will be prepared by a Project of Law presented by the Government.

4. This Project will be drawn up either by a Mixed Commission or by a Mixed Ministry, if the latter should be considered by His Highness as more practical and opportune.

The Commission, or Mixed Ministry, as the case may be, will, until the conclusion of the mission of the Grand National Assembly, be composed of persons belonging to the two parties in equal numbers.

5. The elections for the Grand National Assembly will be free, that is, without any interference on the part of the Government, and upon the basis of either of the two Electoral Laws which His Highness may prefer.

(Signed) D. ZANCOFF.
S. NATCHOVITCH.

Sophia, August $\frac{8}{20}$, 1883.

No. 65.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 130.)
Scutari, August 21, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the translation of a Proclamation to the Montenegrin people, issued by Prince Nicholas on the eve of his departure for his visit to the Sultan at Constantinople.

His Highness has this time confided the government of the Principality to the sole care of the Princess Milena, and has not associated with Her Highness, as hitherto, Voïvoda Boyedar Petrovitch and the Council of State.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 65.

Proclamation to the Montenegrin People.

(Translation.)

Montenegrins!

I AM leaving on a journey to His Majesty the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, the Ruler of the neighbouring Ottoman Empire.

Centuries of heroic fighting between Montenegro and the Turkish Empire have terminated in a wished-for peace, in reciprocal esteem, and in good and friendly relations, which have urged me, the first of Montenegrin Princes, in a friendly way, to this visit to Constantinople.

With feelings of sincere esteem and friendship towards His Majesty, I have undertaken this journey with the warm desire that these relations may become firmer and more durable; that Montenegro in its peaceful development which it has entered

upon, may continue to enjoy the fruits of the friendly neighbourhood on both its boundaries.

For the short time which I shall spend on this journey, on which your love and fidelity will accompany me, I hand over my powers as Prince to Her Highness the Princess Milena.

May the Almighty keep the land and my people under his blessing and protection!

(Signed) PRINCE NICHOLAS.

At Cettinjé, August $\frac{25}{13}$, 1883.

No. 66.

E *Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 132.) *Scutari, August 25, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Mustafa Assym Pasha's Order, published on the 21st instant, prohibiting, after a delay of forty-eight hours, the wearing of arms by civilians in the bazaars and streets of Scutari, has been obeyed in the most complete and satisfactory manner.

The facility with which this disarmament has been effected affords a striking proof of the power still held by the Sultan over his Mussulman populations.

I have been assured by native Beys and Aghas that nothing else but the desire to mark their devotion to the Khalifat could have induced them to forego what they deemed their most valued privilege. Some of these Nobles have declared to me that the pang of having to lay aside their arms has been greater than had they been deprived of their children.

Mustafa Assym Pasha has also decreed under very serious penalties the cessation of all blood feuds; and he has furthermore imprisoned the most notorious bravo in Scutari, who, under Abdi Pasha's weak rule, subjected the Christian community to frequent exactions.

I trust that the predictions of a speedy relapse from the present energetic assertion of the Sultan's authority will not be verified, especially as the case with which Mustafa Assym Pasha has been able to carry out his orders has deprived the Porte of its hitherto frequently-resorted-to excuse that the Albanians, through their turbulent nature, were a people apart from the rest of Ottoman subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 67.

Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.

(No. 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 7, 1883, 4·50 P.M.*

THE language you have held to the Prince of Bulgaria is approved, but I have not sufficient information to give advice as to details. Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to join other Powers in their moral support of the course which would relieve His Highness from external menace and aggression, but he will only be able to do this by taking such steps as will secure the sympathy of the people.

No. 68.

Further Report by Mr. Evans on the Present State of Dardania, &c.

(Part II.)

THE preceding observations on the present condition of Dardania have been mainly confined to the district south of the Shar range, and of which Skopia (Üsküp) forms the principal centre. The remaining part of the country—the Kossovo district proper, the plain of Metochia, including the towns of Prisrend, Djakova, and Ipek (Peć)—is at present in a state of almost complete anarchy, and requires separate consideration; while in the more southern tract, for good or evil, Turkish government may still be said to exist, and while in the Mutessarifflik of Üsküp, at any rate, praiseworthy efforts are made to check non-official robbery and murder, I can only describe the state of things north of the Shar as a reign of terror. It is only at Pristina itself, the seat of the Vali Mitrovitza, and the immediate neighbourhood of the Macedonia Railway, that Turkish government can be said to be really existent. The exploration of this region is at present a matter of considerable risk, and though, with adequate precautions, it is possible for an Englishman (our nationality being favourably regarded by the Albanians) to visit some of the towns, many of the country districts are at the present moment as inaccessible as if they were in Central Africa. Under these circumstances, anything like a complete view of the state of the country is out of the question, and I must content myself with samples derived from a journey through some of the most interesting districts.

The day I arrived at Prisrend there were three cases of robbery with violence and murder in the immediate vicinity. From one village eighty sheep, together with the dogs and shepherds, were carried off by Arnaouts from Ljuma. A drove of horses was attacked on the road, three of the drivers more or less severely wounded, one of the marauders being killed. A Turk was waylaid and killed also by Arnaouts, with five desperate gashes. In no case were the offenders brought to justice.

I found the Christian population, especially the Orthodox Serbs, in the most abject state of misery and degradation. The Serb seminary for teachers still exists, as it is under the direct protection, and in the immediate vicinity of, the Russian Consulate. The boys' and girls' school, however, is closed, as the schoolmaster was seized and transported to Asia,* while his wife, who taught the girls, fled to Serbia, and the terrorism is such that no one dares take their place.

The state of things in the Serb villages about is worse still; whereas in the Üsküp district it is at any rate the Government, or its official, who demand forced labour and requisitions. Here the Arnaouts, without any official commission, exact this "angaria," as it is called, for themselves. A few days since an Arnaout of the village of Kabaš ordered a Serb of the village of Koriš to work in his field for him; on the Serb not coming, the Arnaout hunted him down and murdered him. As the name and abode of the malefactor were perfectly well known, the villagers ventured to complain to "the authorities" at Prisrend. Zaptiehs were accordingly sent, but instead of going to Kabaš at all, they betook themselves to the Serbian village; lived at free-quarters on the villagers for two or three days, and then returned to the konak with the usual report that the murderer had managed to escape. In the case of a similar recent murder in the village of Kouša by the Arnaout Bairaktar, of the neighbouring village of Malahoča, zaptiehs were not even sent, and this worthy has been since allowed to occupy himself with the task of levying black mail of about 200 piastres a head on various Christians of the neighbourhood. Old men say here that the "Zulum" (Turkish yoke) has never been so bad as now. Cases of beating are of almost daily occurrence, and the Arnaouts settle on the Christian villages in gangs, and live at free-quarters for days at a time. The Government does nothing, and is, in fact, inspired and directed by the worst of the local fanatics. Christian evidence is not accepted, and the only code recognized is the Mahommedan sacred law.

The condition of the Catholic Albanians here, who are more or less under the ægis of Austria, is distinctly better than that of the Pravoslaves, but they still have to suffer endless vexations; and such is the present reckless temper of the Arnaout population here, that the Austrian Vice-Consul was himself shot at last autumn in the streets of Prisrend. Within the last few days the chief entrance to the Roman Catholic churchyard here had been walled up by the native fanatics, acting through the Turkish authorities. The church bell cannot be rung. The women have to go about veiled, as if they were Mahommedans. Twenty Miridites have recently been seized and imprisoned here for refusing to pay the military tax, the right of military service in lieu of this tax being, as is well known, one of their oldest privileges. Although the right of the Catholic Albanians to possess arms has hitherto been acknowledged, a Catholic here who had bought a gun of Austrian fabric was seized and thrown into prison, and has not since been allowed either to see his friends or to receive food or money from them. Don Marco (the hero of the well-known episode of the transportation of the Albanian Crypto-Catholics some thirty years ago) is at present the Catholic priest here, and, considering the martyrdom which he has himself endured, his opinion may be worth quoting: "Since the Treaty of Berlin the state of the Christian population here has been worse than I can ever remember it. Bad, however, as the condition of the Catholics is, that of the Greeks (*i.e.*, Orthodox Serbs) is infinitely

* He has since escaped and returned to Serbia, of which he is a native.

worse. The savagery with which they are treated is fearful; they are beaten and murdered with perfect impunity, and the forced labour that they have to undergo at the hands of the Arnaouts passes belief."

At Djakova the state of public security was such that the Mudir dared not allow us (myself and my wife) to show ourselves in the street; and it was only subsequently, through the intercession of a local Aga, that we were allowed to visit a part of the Bazaar. Two days before a murder had been committed in the principal street in the presence of Turkish zaptichs, who discreetly turned their backs and walked away. The Christians here are terrorized over even worse than at Prisrend. As a sample of the ferocious spirit of the inhabitants, I may mention an incident, related to me on good authority, that occurred here a few weeks since. A Turk who had an illicit connection with a girl falsely accused an old Christian man (of 65) as being the real culprit. The man was not even brought to trial; the native fanatics set upon him, and literally hacked him to death. After this his body was impaled, and the impaled corpse was finally used by the Arnaouts as a butt for their rifles. So far from molesting ourselves, however, many of the Arnaout Notables came to visit us and our quarters, and showed themselves friendly, though excessively curious.

The old Serbian monastery of Dečani (the church of which is the most valuable art monument of the whole interior of the Balkan Peninsula) we found in a most pitiable condition. It is impossible to walk a hundred yards from the walled inclosure of the monastery without an armed guard. The wild Arnaouts are continually settling on the monks and living at free quarters; only last year they burnt one of the outbuildings of the monastery, and fired volley after volley into the interior; one of the monks had had his hair and beard cut off three times, and had once literally had the knife at his throat. The most recent extortion to which they have been subjected by the Albanians is a system of forced "loans," never repaid. The peculiar significance of the state of things here lies in the fact that the monastery is imperial vacouf, protected and privileged by the authority of innumerable Firmans.

In the Ipek (Peć) district the state of things is, if possible, worse than that of Djakova. Ali Pasha, of Gussinjé, is the Governor here, civil and military, but though powerful enough in his native town, he is here a mere puppet in the hands of the worst fanatics. He allowed us to visit the Bazaar, but gave us a guard of eight armed Albanians while we did so, and even then the appearance of "Europeans" in the streets caused such a ferment that the Pasha dared not allow us to re-enter the Telarshi, or even to visit the Serbian school (though we succeeded in seeing that when subsequently leaving the town). The Patriarshia or Monastery (the former seat of the Serbian Patriarchs of Ipek before the exodus of Arsenius Tchernojevich) we found in much the same state as that of Dečani. The state of terrorism is such that three-fourths of the normal congregation dare not attend the church, the Christians being set on, shot at, and beaten by the Arnaouts on their way thither. The doors of the monastery itself are perfectly riddled with bullet-holes, and more than one murder has been committed in its immediate precincts. There are several house-fathers who dare not so much as venture outside their own yards. In this district alone there have been over 150 murders since the Treaty of Berlin, some of them of mere children. I have been supplied with data regarding 92 cases, and I am assured that in no single instance has the murderer met with punishment from the authorities. During the days I was at Ipek a great murder of a Serb occurred in the village of Gorazdova, where there have been recently two previous cases, and in the village of Trebovica there was a case of abduction of a characteristic kind. A Turk (Arnaout) persuaded a young Christian girl of 16 or 17 to marry him and turn Mahommedan. The girl's parents refused their consent. The authorities interfered so far as to seize the mother and convey her to the prison at Ipek (where she was when I left), while the Arnaout carried off her daughter. There have been five or six similar cases, and one of the leading Arnaouts here* commits with impunity outrages of a still grosser nature.

From what I heard there can be no room for doubt that there is an organized attempt by repeated acts of violence and robbery to drive out the whole Orthodox Serbian population that still exists in this nahia. Those who know the country best informed me that the Arnaouts, wild and lawless as they are, would not behave as they have been behaving unless they had got the wink to do so from those in power. The chief instigator of the worst outrages is universally recognized to be Mullazeg, a very wealthy Arnaout, who, with a knot of kindred spirits, has the Pasha and the Local Government entirely under his thumb. The oppression being more than can be borne

* Regja Ballch.

the Christian population are at present taking to flight whole villages at a time, and making their way towards the Serbian frontier. The greater part of the inhabitants of the following villages have already fled: Budisavac, Ruhat, Gjurgjevich, Plaoljani, Svork, Kijevo, Osojani, Zablači, Krušovo, Zač, Josanica, Novoselo, Ottomanci, Dolac, Drsnik, Radulovci, Koš, Naglavka, Dragulјeva, Istok, Gjurakovac, Nabrže, and a part of the inhabitants of Gorazdovac. The refugees have mostly reached the Serbian frontier: all hope to be able to return whenever this tyranny is overpast.

One result of the lawless defiance of all authority on the part of the Arnaouts is that the tax-farmers who have to drop a certain sum and who often cannot get their due from the Albanian part of the population make the unfortunate Serb villagers pay for their oppressors as well as themselves. The "Vergija" or land-tax especially is frequently demanded twice or three times over, and as no receipt is given the villagers have no security against these extortionate demands. In committing this extortion the tax-gathers find every assistance from the authorities (who are entirely in the Arnaout interest), and several Christians are at this moment in prison at Ipek for refusing, or being unable, to pay the same tax twice, or it may be three times over.

The Serb school at Ipek is not interfered with, though the schoolmaster lives in peril of his life. The Ottoman soldiers and officers in garrison here, although not used by the Porte as an instrument of order, are well disciplined, and their presence is rather welcome to the Christian inhabitants. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence of the close relations subsisting between some of the most abandoned Albanian ruffians and the Palace at Stamboul. Both here and at Prisrend, however, there are many worthy Mahommedans who would welcome any change that should put a stop to the present frightful anarchy.

In the neighbouring district of Kolašino I learnt that the same anarchic state prevailed, to which I myself was a witness, these two years since. The Christians are murdered and plundered there without redress, or the possibility of redress, as in the Ipek district.

On my way from Ipek to Mitrovitza I passed the night in the small Serbian village of Banja. For six hours the road ran across a fertile and well-watered and formerly thickly-populated plain, which has been reduced to a desert entirely void of habitation or cultivation. At Banja I found the villagers debating whether they should fly the country at once. The whole neighbourhood is a scene of horrors. Three days since a young Serb, Simo Lazarić, of the neighbouring village of Maidax, was bathing in the tepid spring from which Banja derives its name, when he was shot in cold blood and out of pure wantonness by an Arnaout from Dervišević. The day before in the village of Djakorice, which is also near here, another young fellow, Josif Patakovič (æt. 20), was shot in the same way, and another Serb badly wounded. The church is in ruins. The inhabitants spent six months in trying to restore it, but the "Turks" destroyed it again. The school is also in ruins, and no schoolmaster dare stay. One old cripple asked me with tremulous eagerness if there was any chance of a war.

At Vučitrn I found the school closed, as the schoolmaster is in prison; it is believed at Salonica; and the Serbian Pope here, Dančo, has been in prison two years. At Janjevo, where the great bulk of the population is Catholic, the people had not so much to complain of bodily violence and murder as of illegal extortion. Here, again, taxes are demanded as much as three times over for the benefit of the surrounding Arnaouts, who, to a great extent, go scot-free. The Crypto-Catholics, of whom there are large numbers in the Karadagh about Gilan, are perpetually trying to get some assurance of protection for the free exercise of their belief; the Gilan "Turks," with the connivance and sympathy of the local Governor,* declaring their intention to murder them and burn their villages, should they openly profess Catholicism. The Franciscans at Janjevo have again and again appealed to the Porte to secure them the requisite protection, but the Porte has again and again put them off. The hold of the fanatical Mussulman party on the Palace is too strong for the Porte to act in the matter, even if it be liberally inclined. The Catholic monks here, as at Prisrend, corroborated the fact that the Pravoslaves are infinitely worse treated than the "Latins." And the news just arrived of a horrible murder of two Serbs, one shot and the other hung to a tree by Arnaouts, in a village near Gilan, sufficiently illustrates the fact.

In considering possible remedies to the present state of things in these regions, the following observations suggest themselves:—

* So, at least, the Franciscans were convinced.

1. The first, and most crying necessity, and about this I found an universal agreement of opinion, is a thorough-going disarmament of the Arnaouts. Those well acquainted with the country assured me that this might be effected with far greater ease than I was at first inclined to suppose. In the presence of resolute acts of authority the Arnaout shows a submissiveness astonishing to those who know him in his fiercer moments. The whole history of the "Albanian League" shows, indeed, how easily he may be guided.

On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether the Turkish Government can be induced to put forth such an exercise of authority. The intimate relations between many of the Chiefs and the Palace are notorious, and the greater part of these Arnaout desperadoes are armed with *Turkish Government Martinis*.

2. No settled Government can be hoped for while the worst malefactors are allowed to swagger about unpunished. The execution of a score or so of the worst characters, and those not the humbler instruments, but the practical Governors of the country—men like Mullazeg and his compeers—is at least as necessary as disarmament. But these leading offenders are precisely those who have most influence at Stamboul.

3. I observe that the Franciscans, who take their cue from Austria, are all in favour of some kind of Albanian Principality. Whether such has been the Austrian view or not, of course I have no means of knowing; but if it has been so in the past, it is sufficiently evident that the growth of Slavonic influence in Austria will make it henceforth impossible for that Power to place the south Slavonic holy places, viz., Décháni and Ipek—the goals of Orthodox ambition from the Drave to the Macedonian borders—in Albanian keeping.

At the present moment, although the Albanians have everywhere the upper hand, the balance between the numbers of the Serb and Albanian population in the Kossovo and Metochia district is, as far as I can judge, pretty even. Whenever settled government supervenes this will be no longer the case. The deserted plains will be again filled, not by Albanian, but by Slavonic colonists. The tide of Slavonic colonization is already flowing up the Morava Valley into the part of Arnaoutluk acquired by Serbia at Berlin. The re-Slavonization of the Kossovo and Metochia plains is only a question of time. By converting them into a desert the Turks have really been playing the Serbian game.

4. Apart from all economic considerations, and having solely regard to the tranquillization of the country, the importance of securing railway communication with the great plain of Metochia (at present the scene of the worst terrorism) deserves the most serious attention. I learn that the trace of a line leading from Scodra (Scutari d'Albania) across the Albanian Alps to the neighbourhood of Prisrend and Djakova has already been made, and presents serious difficulties only at one point. This line of communication is really of the highest eventual economic importance, as it would give the plains and highlands of Dardania—the chief mineral treasury of the peninsula—direct access to the Adriatic port. It would also find a continuation in Morava Valley line to Nisch, &c., and would coincide with a great line of Roman road, undertaken primarily as an engine of pacification and civilization amongst the wild forefathers of the Arnaouts.

The comparative security for life and property in the immediate neighbourhood of the existing line from Mitrovitza shows the great desirability of railway communication with the districts at present plunged in apparently hopeless anarchy.

5. The abolition of forced labour ("angaria") and "requisitioning" would remove one of the principal grievances of the rayahs. It is, however, about the last thing that the Turkish authorities will consent to. Were any local Governor to attempt to carry out such a reform and tax Mahommedan and Christian impartially, he would be at once intrigued against at Stamboul. As it is, the forced labour is practically a tax levied in the country districts where the Christians are in a majority (and almost exclusively on the *Christian* villagers) for the benefit of the towns where the "Turks" are in a majority.

Usküp (*Skopia*), *August* 11, 1883.

No. 69.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.[*]

(No. 25.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1883, 1·50 p.m.

REPETITION of telegram to Mr. Lascelles of yesterday, for your information, not for communication:—

[See No. 67.]

No. 70.

Sir J. Walsham to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 10.)

E
(No. 20. Danube. Secret.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 4, 1883.

ACCORDING to M. Liteano, the Roumanian Minister here, who gave me the confidential information about M. Bratiano's visits to Vienna and Gastein, mentioned in my immediately preceding despatch of this date, the object of these visits, which were undertaken at the express wish of the King of Roumania, was to discuss with Count Kálnoky and Prince Bismarck the difficulty which, as regards Roumania, had arisen in respect to the decisions of the London Conference on the Danube question, and at the same time to consult as to the steps to be taken for bringing about more intimate relations between Roumania and the two German Powers. On the part of the King and of the Government there was every desire that all questions pending with Austria should be amicably settled as soon as possible, and it was felt that if a solution of the Danube complication could be found, the remaining difficulties would be arranged without much trouble. Russia, however, M. Liteano said, was continuously at work by means of secret agents in fomenting a spirit of hostility towards Austria amongst the people, and the opposition which the Roumanian Government met with in Parliament whenever matters connected with Austria were under discussion was, in a great measure, due to Russia's influence.

M. Liteano hardly expects that any definite plans for the future will have resulted from the interviews with Count Kálnoky and Prince Bismarck, but M. Bratiano will have learnt the views and wishes of both statesmen, and be able, on returning shortly to Vienna on his way to Bucharest, to enter upon more detailed negotiations with the Austrian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

No. 71.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.

(No. 312.) *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1883.

Sir,

YOU reported in your despatch No. 417 of the 30th June, that the Porte recognized the efforts which Her Majesty's Government are making to promote a settlement of the question of the amount of tribute to be paid by Bulgaria, and the share of the Turkish Public Debt to be borne by that Principality, as well as by Servia, Greece, and Montenegro.

With a view of advancing the matter, they have obtained from Mr. Vincent, President of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, the accompanying Memorandum,[†] and I have to instruct you to ascertain unofficially from Aarify Pasha, who has already promised to furnish you with information on the subject, whether the Porte will confirm the figures quoted as the average revenues of the ceded territories, and would be willing to accept a settlement on the bases proposed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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[*] Also to Mr. Wyndham (No. 60), Mr. Kennedy (No. 42), Mr. Fraser (No. 23), Mr. Plunkett (No. 27), and Sir J. Walsham (No. 37).

[†] August 25.

No. 72.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.**

(No. 873.)
Foreign Office, September 10, 1883.

Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador has handed me a note from the Porte, of which I inclose a copy,† calling attention to the treatment of Mussulmans in Bulgaria, and requesting that representations may be addressed on the subject to the Government of the Principality by Her Majesty's Agent at Sophia.

I have to instruct you to remind the French Government that Her Majesty's Government have not yet been favoured with their views upon this question, which was submitted to them by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, in accordance with the instructions contained in my Circular despatches of the 9th and 30th March.

The Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments have, as you are aware, expressed their willingness to accede to the wishes of the Porte, provided that the combined action of all the Representatives of the Powers at Sophia be secured.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 73.

Earl Granville to Musurus Pasha.

Foreign Office, September 10, 1883.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

I RECEIVED from your Excellency, on the 18th ultimo, copy of a despatch addressed to you on the 8th April, by the Turkish Government, relative to the continued ill-treatment of the Mussulman inhabitants of Bulgaria.

Aarifi Pasha concludes his despatch with an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to direct their Representative at Sophia to make an energetic representation on the subject to the Bulgarian Government.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the failure of the Government of the Principality to carry out its obligations under the XIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin has on two occasions in the present year formed the subject of communication between Her Majesty's Government and the Signatory Powers.

Some of the Governments, however, have not yet replied to a request which I made some months ago to be favoured with their views as to the best mode of settling the question, and I will again call their attention to the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 74.

Earl Granville to Mr. J. G. Kennedy.

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, September 12, 1883, 4·50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 29 of 10th.

Ask Russian Government to direct their Representative at Constantinople to join Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in pressing Porte to accept condition respecting Khotour frontier delimitation proposed by England and Russia.

No. 75.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 13.)

E
(No. 250. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 5, 1883.

My Lord,

WHEN I spoke to Count Kálnoky yesterday about the state of affairs in Bulgaria he took, as I informed your Lordship, a very serious view of the pretension of the Russian Government to maintain, in defiance of the wishes of the Prince, the Ministers who had been sent from St. Petersburgh.

* Also to Sir J. Walsham (No. 322), and Mr. J. G. Kennedy (No 233.)

† No. 40.

If they succeeded in establishing this pretension, it would render the Principality a mere dependency of Russia, but it was not easy at once to say how it ought to be met or thwarted.

Russia would not be likely to be influenced by a simple intimation, at least from any one Power singly; the proceeding was unjustifiable, and Count Kálnoky proposed to wait for further information, and to see the course that things were taking before himself saying or doing anything.

The Austro-Hungarian Agent at Sophia, having only just returned to his post, had not had an opportunity of seeing the Prince, or been able as yet to make any full report upon the situation, but altogether I am inclined to infer from Count Kálnoky's language that, while he is not desirous of taking the initiative in protesting against the action of Russia, he would be glad if either the Porte or the Prince were to bring the matter before the Powers, the rights of both being seriously endangered.

He said that, notwithstanding the moderation of the language held here by M. Jonine, his attitude at Sophia had been very overbearing, and even wanting in respect to the Prince, and that there seemed to be on the part of Russia a determination to assume for herself in Bulgaria a position entirely at variance with the arrangement agreed upon by the Treaty of Berlin, by which the Principality was to be a vassal dependency of the Sultan, with an independent internal administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 76.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 13.)

E
(No. 256. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 10, 1883.

My Lord,

COUNT KÁLNOKY appears on the whole not dissatisfied with his conversation with M. Bratiano, but hopes to be able to make further progress with him when he comes here in about a fortnight on his way back to Bucharest.

The Danube question seems to have been less discussed between them than the general relations of Roumania with Austria and Germany, and these Count Kálnoky believes will be put upon a more satisfactory footing.

With respect to the Danube Navigation Treaty, Count Kálnoky told M. Bratiano that public opinion in this country would not allow of any alteration in it, although he recognized the difficulty which the Roumanian Government might have in adhering to it, after adopting the attitude they had unfortunately assumed, but his own impression was that the arrangements made by the Treaty could be carried out perfectly well without any such formal adhesion by simply allowing the Riverain Commission to function as agreed upon.

M. Bratiano admitted that this was possible, and it is probably in this manner that it will be attempted to bring about an understanding upon his next visit to Vienna.

In the meantime, however, Count Kálnoky is much irritated by M. Carp, the Roumanian Envoy, who continues to hold language of so belligerent a nature as even to have alarmed the Bourse, intimating that the good understanding that was being cemented between Roumania and Austria was a preliminary to the war with Russia of which he is so desirous, whereas, as Count Kálnoky says, its sole object is the preservation of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 77.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 13.)

E
(No. 257. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 10, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAD some conversation with Count Kálnoky about Bulgaria this afternoon, when I did not find his Excellency better satisfied than he was the last time I saw him

about the course that things are taking there, but he does not, however, purpose to take the initiative in proposing or in doing anything.

The Prince complained bitterly of M. Jonine, who, after all the professions of moderation that he made while here, and after all the assurances of M. de Giers, had been insolent and offensive towards the Prince almost beyond bearing, and had gone the length upon one occasion, when spoken to about the Russian Generals, of intimating that, "if any one had to leave, it would not be the Generals."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 78.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 260.)
Vienna, September 10, 1883.

My Lord,

IT having been reported that while the Prince of Montenegro was at Constantinople he spoke to the Sultan in favour of appointing Prince Peter Karageorgewich Governor of Eastern Roumelia, in succession to Aleko Pasha, I asked Count Kálnoky whether he believed it to be true.

His Excellency said that he was convinced that the report was without foundation, and that, although the Prince had been treated with great distinction while at Constantinople, he did not appear ever to have been given an opportunity of holding a private conversation with the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 79.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 506. Confidential.)
Therapia, September 6, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that at an interview which I had with the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day, His Highness asked me if I had heard of what was passing in Bulgaria, where he said matters appeared to have come to a sort of crisis. I replied that I had not any very recent information on the subject beyond what I had read in the newspapers.

Aarifi Pasha then said that, according to the reports received by the Porte, cannon and arms and munitions of war were being sent in considerable quantities from Russia to Bulgaria, and that quite recently twenty-six cannons had arrived there; that the drilling of troops was being carried on with great activity, and that Mussulman soldiers in the Bulgarian ranks had been even forced to drill during the recent fast of Ramazan.

His Highness spoke with much uneasiness on the subject, and observed that whenever the question of the Bulgarian tribute was mooted the poverty of the Principality was pleaded, whereas it appeared to have plenty of money to spend on troops and munitions of war, beyond what would seem requisite for the maintenance of internal order.

I said that, if His Highness wished it, I would convey his remarks on this subject to your Lordship, and he replied that he would be grateful if I would do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 80.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 508.)
Therapia, September 7, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, who arrived, as I reported in my No. 481 of the 24th ultimo, at Constantinople on the 19th ultimo, left for Cettinjé on Saturday, the 1st September.

During His Highness' stay here I had the honour of being received twice by him, once when I paid my respects to him on his arrival, and again when I had occasion to thank him for a message he had graciously sent me expressing his regret at being prevented, through business connected with the settlement of the frontiers of Montenegro, from attending a ball at Her Majesty's Embassy here on the 29th ultimo, and to which I had invited His Highness through his Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Prince expressed to me his deep gratitude to England for the very efficient aid she had given towards bringing about an arrangement with Turkey as to the frontiers of the Principality, which assistance, His Highness said, would never be forgotten in Montenegro.

His Highness expressed himself as much pleased with the reception he had met with on the part of the Sultan, who has given him magnificent presents, consisting of diamonds and horses, and has conferred upon the Princess the Order of the Chefkat.

I am glad to inform your Lordship also that good progress has been made during the Prince's stay here towards a settlement of the frontier, and that a line of frontier has been decided upon, a description of which line to Mokra will be found in the inclosed copy of a statement which was given to the Austrian Ambassador by M. Radonich, and which Baron Calice very obligingly communicated to me.

From Mokra the settlement of the frontier-line has been agreed upon in accordance with the inclosure in M. Radonich's note to Aarifi Pasha of the 31st August / 12th September, and which note rectifies an error contained in Aarifi Pasha's note of the 29th August to M. Radonich with regard to the frontier-line from Mokra, and which His Highness mentions as having been modified by the "Corti line," which, however, did not go beyond Mokra.

I inclose herewith copies of the documents in question, which I have obtained from the Sublime Porte.

I inquired of M. Radonich, who was good enough to call upon me and to keep me informed of the progress of his negotiations, whether he thought the presence of Boundary Commissioners of foreign States would be necessary for the delimitation of the frontiers, and he replied that he thought not.

Unless, therefore, unforeseen difficulties arise, it is to be hoped that this long-pending question is drawing to a satisfactory conclusion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 80.

Arrangement arrived at respecting the Montenegrin Frontier as far as Mokra.

AU nord-est du Lac de Scutari du point XIX de la Carte du Commissaire Anglais, la frontière suivra jusqu'à Gradiste la ligne telle qu'elle a été définie dans le Protocole No. 3 de Cettinjé du 10 Janvier, 1883. De Gradiste la frontière se dirigera en ligne droite au sommet de Suka-i-Hruda, indiqué sur la Carte du Commissaire Anglais; de ce point elle suivra la frontière méridionale de Kucku-kraina, constatée par la Commission Internationale, indiquée en vert sur la même Carte, et aboutira en passant par Suka Maami, Kuukuea, Suka Milee, Kum Kostic, Maja Marzit, Vila, Skala Rikover, Cafa Braks, au Mont Planinica, d'où elle atteindra par le sommet de Krsi Djegun celui de la Statica, point extrême des Cartes de la Commission Internationale. De ce point, en prenant pour base la ligne du Mémorandum de Constantinople du 12 Avril, 1880, la frontière se dirigera vers Mokra Planina de manière à laisser à la Turquie les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Mahométane, et au Monténégro les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Chrétienne, Vellika y compris. De Mokra Planina, qui reste à la Turquie, la frontière suivra le tracé du Traité de Berlin.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Inclosure 2 in No. 80.

Aarifi Pasha to M. de Radonich.

Constantinople, le 29 Août, 1883.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, a l'honneur d'informer son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Son Altesse le Prince de Monténégro, que le Gouvernement Impérial a examiné le tracé concernant les frontières Turco-Monténégrines que son Excellence lui a communiqué à la suite de sa note responsive du 27 de ce mois.

Ce tracé est détaillé comme suit: au nord est du Lac de Scutari du point XIX de la Carte du Commissaire Anglais, la frontière suivra jusqu'à Gradiste la ligne telle qu'elle a été définie dans le Protocole No. 3 de Cettinjé du 10 Janvier, 1883.

De Gradiste la frontière se dirigera en ligne droite au sommet de Suka-i-Gruda, indiqué sur la Carte du Commissaire Anglais; de ce point elle suivra la frontière méridionale du Kuka-kraïna constatée par la Commission Internationale, indiquée en vert sur la même Carte, et aboutira en passant par Suka Muanic, Konknea, Suka Milie, Kuu Kostic, Maja Nerzit, Vile, Skala Killavee, Tafa Braks, au Mont Planinica, d'où elle atteindra par le sommet de Kisi Djegun celui de la Stobra, point extrême des Cartes de la Commission Internationale. De ce point, en prenant pour base la ligne du Mémorandum de Constantinople du 12 Avril, 1880, la frontière se dirigera vers Mokra Planina de manière à laisser à la Turquie les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Musulmane, et au Monténégro les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Chrétienne, Vélika y compris. De Mokra Planina, qui reste à la Turquie jusqu'à Moïkoratz, la frontière suivra le tracé du Traité de Berlin.

Conformément à la décision prise à cet égard par le Conseil des Ministres et sanctionnée par un Iradé de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, le Soussigné a l'honneur de notifier à son Excellence que le Gouvernement Impérial, tout en adhérant au tracé en question, croit devoir en même temps émettre les considérations suivantes:

Le tracé dont il s'agit porte que de Mokra Planina, qui reste à la Turquie jusqu'a Moïkoratz, la frontière suivra le tracé du Traité de Berlin.

Or, d'après ce Traité la ligne se dirige, à partir de Mokra, vers les hauteurs du village de Morgos et de là rejoint l'ancienne frontière sur le Lim, en suivant les crêtes et en laissant au Monténégro les villages de Sadrika et Zranitza.

Il s'ensuivrait, dès lors, que la partie de la ligne qui de Mokra Planina s'étend jusqu'au point de l'ancienne frontière sur le Lim, près de Seculari, dépasserait même la ligne Corti, abandonnerait, suivant la Carte, au Monténégro les villages de Bogh et de Morgos et laisserait de ce côté à la Principauté un territoire d'environ 40 kilom. carrés d'étendue en plus de la ligne Corti, ce qui ne s'accorderait pas avec les propositions que Son Altesse le Prince a bien voulu formuler verbalement. D'ailleurs, la note susmentionnée du 27 courant de son Excellence M. Radonitz indique elle-même la ligne Corti comme point de départ de la délimitation au-delà de Gradiste.

En conséquence, la dite ligne de Berlin, se trouvant être naturellement écartée, le Gouvernement Impérial est tout disposé à accepter le dit tracé de son Excellence M. Radonitz qui concerne en partie la ligne Corti, aux conditions suivantes, qui sont conformes aux propositions verbales de Son Altesse le Prince:—

Laisser à la Turquie les points dominants et les villages Musulmans sis des deux côtés de la Rivière de Lim;

Maintenir ouvertes la route d'Ipek et celle conduisant de Plava par la vallée de Lim à Berana.

Conserver à la Turquie la différence existant entre les deux Cartes Autrichiennes qui indiquent la ligne Corti.

Assurer enfin aux particuliers, parmi lesquels Ali Pacha de Goussinjé, la libre jouissance de leurs propriétés et des revenus de celles-ci. Quant à la ligne-frontière du côté de Novi-Bazar et de l'Herzégovine, elle sera naturellement délimitée conformément aux indications du Traité de Berlin.

Le Maréchal Moustapha Assim Pacha, le Général de Brigade Tahir Pacha, et le Colonel Bedri Bey, Commissaires Ottomans, seront chargés, de concert avec les Commissaires Monténégrins, de procéder aux travaux de délimitation par l'application sur le terrain du tracé des frontières indiqué dans le mode de solution qui fait l'objet de cette note.

Le Soussigné saisit, &c.

Inclosure 3 in No. 80.

M. de Radonich to Aarifi Pasha.

Le 1er Septembre, 1883.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Son Altesse le Prince de Monténégro, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note du 29 Août, par laquelle Son Altesse le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a bien voulu l'informer de la décision prise par le Gouvernement Impérial, sanctionnée par un Iradé Impérial, par rapport au tracé des frontières Turco-Monténégrines.

Son Altesse le Prince Nicholas a appris avec une véritable satisfaction que la Sublime Porte avait, aux quatre conditions énumérées dans la note précitée, adhéré au tracé de la ligne-frontière que le Soussigné a eu l'honneur de présenter à l'acceptation du Gouvernement Impérial.

Cependant il est à remarquer que ces conditions, en tant qu'elles concernent le tracé de la ligne-frontière dans la Vallée du Lim, ne s'accordent pas entièrement avec les propositions verbales de Son Altesse le Prince Nicholas et le tracé proposé par le Gouvernement Princier. Un désaccord entre les Commissaires des deux États dans l'application de ce tracé sur le terrain devenait donc inévitable et aurait pu compromettre le succès de leur mission. Dans le désir sincère de voir les travaux de délimitation mener à bonne fin et pour éclaircir ce malentendu, une échange d'idées a eu lieu à ce sujet entre Son Altesse le Prince Nicholas et leurs Excellences Nusret Pacha et Munir Bey. Il a été convenu que l'accord qui en a été le résultat et dont les termes se trouvent consignés dans un double procès-verbal en date du $\frac{31}{3}$ Août, dont copie ci-jointe, servirait de base à la délimitation dans la Vallée du Lim exclusivement.

L'entente ayant été ainsi heureusement établie sur tout le parcours du tracé de la ligne-frontière à délimitation le Gouvernement Princier s'empressera de désigner de son côté ses Commissaires qui seront chargés, de concert avec leurs collègues Ottomans, de procéder aux travaux de délimitation, par l'application sur le terrain du tracé des frontières dont les bases viennent d'être arrêtées entre les deux Gouvernements.

Son Altesse le Prince Nicholas profite de cette occasion pour exprimer encore une fois au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan ses vifs remercîments pour son esprit conciliant dans les négociations qui ont abouti à la solution d'une question qui a été malheureusement cause de bien plus d'un malentendu entre les deux États limitrophes.

Le Soussigné saisit, &c. (Signé) RADONICH.

Remarque.—Il est bien entendu que les quatre conditions demandées dans la note du 29 Août de Son Altesse Aarifi Pacha auront force valeur en tant qu'elles ne sont modifiées par ce qui précède.

R.

Inclosure 4 in No. 80.

Procès-verbal as to Christian Villages on the Montenegrin Frontier.

POUR éviter tout malentendu entre les Commissaires des deux États sur le tracé de la ligne-frontière dans la vallée du Lim, il a été convenu entre Son Altesse le Prince Nicholas et leurs Excellences Nusret Pacha et Munir Bey que les villages Chrétiens administrés et occupés actuellement par la Principauté dans la vallée du Lim resteront au Monténégro. Tous ceux qui ne sont pas occupés et qui d'après les Traités appartiendraient au Monténégro, Son Altesse les abandonne à la Turquie, fussent-ils Chrétiens ou non. Les villages susmentionnés seront délimités par leurs limites communales.

L'exception sera faite là où le Traité de Berlin est explicite comme entre Sitko, Yezero, et Moïkoratz.

(Signé) NUSRET.
RADONICH.

Le 31 *Août,* 1883.

No. 81.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 509. Very Confidential.)

Therapia, September 7, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 508 of to-day's date, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that I cannot learn that any other arrangements were arrived at beyond the frontier question between the Sultan and the Prince of Montenegro during His Highness' visit to Constantinople.

The Austrian Ambassador, whose information upon the above point agreed with mine, informed me confidentially the other day that the Prince had been desirous of having a more private interview with the Sultan than those he had had, but that His Highness had not succeeded in his wish.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 82.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received September 13.)

E

(No. 511. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 7, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 506, Confidential, of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that I mentioned to the Austrian Ambassador to-day that Aarifi Pasha appeared somewhat uneasy as to the reported armaments in Bulgaria. His Excellency replied that Said Pasha, the Grand Vizier, had recently spoken to him on the subject, and had observed that the Bulgarian Government must now, according to his information, be in possession of about thirty new Krupp guns.

Baron Calice also told me that he had asked His Highness if the Sultan was alarmed on the subject, and that Said Pasha had replied that he was not, as Russia had given His Majesty certain assurances on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 83.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

E

(No. 67.)

Sophia, August 30, 1883.

My Lord,

ON the 24th instant M. Jonine, the Russian Minister in Brazil, who has arrived here on a special mission from the Emperor) and not, as I stated in my despatch No. 64 of the 23rd instant, as Russian Agent and Consul-General), had an audience of the Prince of Bulgaria, which lasted for three hours.

M. Jonine delivered to His Highness a letter from the Emperor stating that His Majesty had ordered General Soboleff to return to Bulgaria, and M. Jonine to take up the post which His Majesty had intrusted to him. His Majesty required to be informed about the state of affairs in Bulgaria. The Emperor reminds the Prince of the support His Highness received from Russia in 1881, the assistance he has received from Russian officers in the Bulgarian service, and that it was in consequence of His Highness' statement that there were no statesmen in Bulgaria capable of governing the country that His Majesty had sent out Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars. It appeared, however, from the language which His Highness had used to Prince Lobanoff in Vienna, that the action of the Generals had created discontent in the country of a nature to bring about complications. His Majesty had therefore charged M. Jonine to make inquries into the real state of affairs, and to try to remedy it ("tâcher d'y remédier"). His Majesty does not doubt of the Prince's attachment to Russia, and concludes with an assurance of his good will towards His Highness.

M. Jonine delivered this letter to the Prince without making any speech, and merely requested His Highness to read it; and he then proceeded to formulate three demands, to which he asked for an immediate answer, threatening to leave Sophia in

twenty-four hours unless His Highness' answer was satisfactory. The three demands were—

1. The dissolution of the National Assembly, which had been convoked for the 14th proximo.
2. The maintenance of the present Ministry for a year; and
3. The recall of M. Stoiloff, whose mission to St. Petersburgh M. Jonine characterized as an offence to the Emperor.

The discussion which ensued appears to have been a very violent one. With regard to M. Stoiloff's mission, the Prince said that it was necessary for him to have some one at St. Petersburgh to speak in his name, and to defend him against the aspersions cast upon him. His Highness added, "At St. Petersburgh you wish to get rid of me because I am a Bulgarian patriot, and desire the independence of Bulgaria." M. Jonine replied that it was the Russians who had made the *coup d'état* in 1881, and that it was now evident that M. Hitrovo had made a great mistake in supporting His Highness. It was necessary now for Russia to see what advantage she could derive from the circumstances. The Emperor was indignant ("indigné") at the vague conduct which His Highness had always followed with regard to Russia, who had always met his wishes, and furnished him with assistance in the shape of Russian functionaries and officers, many of whom His Highness had dismissed. His Highness was young and inexperienced, and four years had not been enough to make a man of him. Consequently, faults had been committed which it was now necessary to remedy. M. Jonine regretted to have to hold such language to His Highness, but, as Representative of the Emperor, it was his duty to do so.

The Prince replied that it was impossible for him to quarrel with his people. He had proved the falsity of the accusation often brought against him of being more German than Russian by keeping the two Generals in power against the will of his people, and leaving to the National Assembly the power of keeping or dismissing them. Upon this M. Jonine observed that His Highness desired to bring about a scandal by leaving to the Chamber the power of keeping or dismissing the Generals, and he added in a threatening manner that it was a scandal which Russia would not permit. The Emperor was acquainted with this intention of His Highness, and had in consequence instructed M. Jonine to demand the dissolution of the Chamber, and the immediate announcement of His Highness' intention to maintain the present Ministry for a year. If, however, it was necessary that the Chamber should meet, His Highness might state in his Speech from the Throne that the only matter it would have to deal with would be the ratification of the Railway Convention. His Highness was continually speaking of his people, but it was well known that it was not the people, but merely a clique, who supported him.

The Prince having objected to the dissolution of the Chamber as illegal, M. Jonine replied that every one knew that His Highness had interfered underhand in the elections, and that he was constantly trying to hide himself either behind the Chamber or behind his full powers. To this His Highness indignantly replied that he was a Sovereign Prince, and not in the habit of hiding. With regard to the reconciliation which has recently taken place between the Liberals and Conservatives, M. Jonine said that it was merely a comedy which had been got up by the Prince against Russia, and that His Highness had no alternative but to choose between offended Russia and the clique whom he called his people.

M. Jonine having expressed his intention of waiting upon His Highness on the following day to receive an answer to the demands he had put forward, the Prince said that it was useless that he should do so, and that he would cause him to be informed when he should have a communication to make to him. I am informed that M Jonine has since made several applications for an interview with the Prince, but it was only to-day that His Highness consented to receive him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 84.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

E

(No. 68.)

Sophia, September 1, 1883.

My Lord,

ON the 29th instant I received a visit from M. Greceoff, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, who told me that considerable difficulty had arisen with regard to

settling the details of the understanding between the Liberal and Conservative parties, to which I had the honour to refer in my despatch No. 65 of the 23rd ultimo. M. Zancoff insisted on the presence of the Russian Generals in the mixed Ministry which was to be formed. To this the Conservatives could not agree. They could not forget the manner in which they had been dismissed from office in the month of March, and although they were willing to waive all personal feeling in the matter, they could not but fear that the same fate might await them again if the Russian Ministers remained in power. Moreover, the very fact of the two Russian Generals being kept in office in a Ministry composed of members of the two parties would be regarded in the country as a proof that both parties placed confidence in them, and would render the task of getting rid of them much more difficult.

I told M. Grecoff that it appeared to me that there was considerable force in the objections he had put forward, but that I understood that M. Zancoff was averse to entering into an open conflict with the Russians, as he was of opinion that it would be fatal for Bulgaria to do so. It appeared to me to be indispensable that the two parties should come to a real understanding, as it was evident that as long as they were disunited it would be easy for the Russians to maintain their position.

M. Grecoff replied that there was still a hope of an understanding being come to, as M. Zancoff had given it to be understood that, although he would take no active part in procuring the dismissal of the Russian Ministers, he would be prepared to join in the mixed Ministry, after the Generals had left the country, if the Prince himself dismissed them.

On the following morning I received a visit from M. Zancoff, who informed me that the arrival of M. Jonine, and the language which he had used to the Prince, had made a complete change in the situation. He now regarded the convocation of the Great National Assembly as a danger, as the Russians would be able to exercise too great an influence on the elections, and he was of opinion that the Prince should at once issue a Proclamation declaring that he gave up his full powers, and that the old Constitution was again in force. M. Zancoff added that the Conservative leaders were also of his opinion, and had agreed to advise the Prince to follow this course.

In the afternoon of the same day (the 30th ultimo) I met M. Grecoff, who told me that M. Zancoff had misled me with regard to the understanding which had been come to. The Conservatives had consented to raise no objection to the re-establishment of the old Constitution, provided the Prince agreed to it, but they had distinctly stated that if His Highness objected they would support him. The Prince had objected very strongly, and had charged M. Grecoff with the formation of a new Cabinet. M. Grecoff had offered M. Zancoff any Ministry he might choose to take, but the latter had declined to join, and had advised M. Grecoff to give up his attempts to form it.

I asked M. Grecoff whether he thought he would be able to form a Ministry strong enough to resist the opposition he was sure to meet with. The question to be considered was the strength of the two parties; and as the Liberals had refused to join him, they could not do otherwise than join the Russians. M. Grecoff replied that the Prince had assured him that the army was entirely with His Highness, and he would therefore be strong enough to get rid of the two Generals. The Cabinet he was about to form would merely be a provisional one, and he felt confident that when the Generals were gone he would obtain the assistance of the Liberals to a revision of the Constitution. While he was speaking a letter was placed in his hands from M. Constantinovitch, the Head of the Prince's Chancellerie, stating that M. Jonine had had an interview with the Prince, and had informed His Highness that he had orders from the Emperor to prevent the formation of a new Cabinet, and to insist on the maintenance of the present one.

Later in the evening I again met M. Grecoff, who, on going to the Palace to submit to the Prince the names of the persons to whom he had offered posts in his Cabinet, had found that the situation had completely changed. M. Jonine had, as I was aware, protested against a change of Ministry, and General Soboleff, on being requested by His Highness to send in his resignation, had produced a letter, signed by the Emperor of Russia, instructing him to remain at his post, even though His Highness should desire to dismiss him. Under these circumstances the Prince felt he could no longer rely upon the army, as the Russian officers would certainly obey the orders which M. Jonine might give in the name of the Emperor rather than those given by His Highness. M. Grecoff thereupon saw that it was hopeless for him to form a Ministry, and recommended His Highness to send for M. Zancoff, and to consent to the immediate re-establishment of the old Constitution.

Yesterday morning (the 31st ultimo) M. Zancoff called upon me and told me that the Prince had sent for him, and intended to charge him with the formation of a Ministry, and that he intended to undertake the charge, if the Prince agreed to his conditions, which were: the immediate re-establishment of the old Constitution, a general amnesty for all political offences during the period of the full powers, the repeal of the Law on the press, the convocation of the ordinary National Assembly under the old Electoral Law, the abolition of the *corps de dragons* (gendarmes), and the immediate reduction of the army. It was most important to obtain the Prince's consent to the last measure, which would be most popular in the country, and would certainly produce a favourable impression in Europe, as it would be a proof of His Highness' intention to reduce the heavy burdens which the army laid upon the country. M. Zancoff hoped that I would advise the Prince to agree to these conditions, and he intended to recommend the Prince to consult the Agents of the Great Powers. He should advise His Highness to convoke the Corps Diplomatique, with the exception of M. Jonine, to inform them of what he intended to do, and to listen to what they had to say; and that His Highness should subsequently call a meeting of all the Agents, including M. Jonine, and announce to them officially the decision at which he had arrived.

M. Zancoff told me that he had seen M. Jonine on the previous evening, who had asked him whether he would accept a seat in the mixed Ministry. He had replied in the negative, but had stated that if the Prince were to charge him with the formation of a new Cabinet, he would consent to undertake the task under certain conditions, which he did not specify.

M. Zancoff left me to go to the Palace, and returned half-an-hour later, to tell me that the Prince, who was far from well, had listened to his proposals, and had told him he would reflect upon them, and take a decision later. M. Zancoff thought that the Prince's answer meant that His Highness had determined to give way to the Russians, although it was not impossible that further reflection might again induce His Highness to change his mind.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 85.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 15.)

E
(No. 70.)

Sophia, September 3, 1883.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY morning the Prince of Bulgaria sent word to me that he desired to see me. I at once went to the Palace, and found the Prince lying on a sofa and suffering from a feverish attack, accompanied by acute neuralgic pains in the back. His Highness said he wished to speak to me, as an impartial person, upon the present situation, and he asked me whether it would not be more dignified for him to leave the country at once than have to put up with the continued insults to which he was now exposed.

I replied that His Highness' question placed me in a position of great embarrassment. I quite understood that His Highness should resent the manner in which he had been addressed by M. Jonine, but that, as Her Majesty's Agent, it was my duty to urge His Highness to reflect seriously upon the consequences which would follow upon his abdication, and the complications which his departure at this moment would entail upon the country.

His Highness proceeded to relate at considerable length all that had taken place since M. Jonine's arrival. His Highness had informed the Russian Generals that he had determined upon a change of Ministers, and had desired them to send in their resignations. Thereupon M. Jonine had informed him that he had orders from the Emperor of Russia to prevent a change of Ministers, and the two Generals had stated that the Emperor had ordered them to remain at their posts, even though His Highness should desire them to leave. General Soholeff had stated that he would be grateful to His Highness if he could induce His Majesty to withdraw his order, as he had no wish to remain in Bulgaria since his presence was distasteful to His Highness, but as long as the Emperor's orders remained in force it was impossible for him to disobey.

M. Jonine and the two Generals had subsequently made the following demands: immediate renunciation by His Highness of his full powers; convocation of the

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Great National Assembly in two months; maintenance of the present Ministry until the Constitution is established; the Prince not to sign any Decree, or sanction any Law, even though passed by the Chamber, without the consent of the Ministers, or refuse to sanction any measure which they may submit to him. The Prince added that in this interview he had requested M. Jonine to be careful of the expressions he made use of, as he would not submit to be addressed in an imperative tone, and that M. Jonine's manner and language had thereupon become very polite.

The Prince said that, if he consulted his personal feelings and his dignity, he would leave the country at once. He was practically a prisoner in his Palace, since if he were to present himself at the camp outside the town he would there find the Minister of War whom he had dismissed still exercising his functions. He had, however, to consult other interests besides his own, and if he were to leave now those persons who had remained faithful to him would probably have to leave also. He would therefore make a further attempt to come to an arrangement with the Russians, and he was prepared to consent to issue a manifesto stating that a Commission should be immediately formed, under his presidency, for the purpose of revising the Constitution. The Commission would be composed of members chosen in equal numbers from the two parties, and as soon as they had drawn up a Project of Constitution, the Great National Assembly should be convoked. Until then he would consent that the present Ministry should remain in office to carry on the business of the country; but that he must reserve all his liberty with regard to their action. He was aware that he was yielding to the demands of the Russians, but there was no help for him, and he had to find a means of satisfying their demands and keeping up the appearance of authority by issuing a manifesto of his own accord. If the Russians refused to agree to these proposals, he would have no alternative left but to leave the country.

I said that it appeared to me that the course His Highness was about to pursue was a very dangerous one. If the Great National Assembly were to be elected while the Generals remained in power, they would probably find means of obtaining a vote in their favour, which would give them an excuse for remaining in the country, and there was also a danger, in a Chamber elected under such circumstances, of the question being raised of the deposition of His Highness. I asked His Highness whether it would not be wiser to follow the course recommended both by M. Zancoff and M. Grecoff to re-establish the Constitution of Tirnova, on the understanding that the revision should take place later. At the same time it would be necessary to effect an immediate reduction in the army, which would deprive the Russians of the force which they now possessed. I could understand that this course would not be agreeable to His Highness, but I asked whether it would not be better than to allow Bulgaria to become a purely Russian province.

His Highness replied that, in fact, Bulgaria was entirely ruled by the Russians, and that it was impossible that they could acquire more power than they at present possessed. Advantage had been taken of His Highness' absence to extend Russian influence throughout the country, and 120 Committees had been formed in different parts of the Principality, which would be ready to act upon a sign from the Russians. M. Jonine had also stated that, in case of a popular movement, the Russian officers would be instructed not to march against the people. In fact, at this moment M. Jonine was the real Prince of Bulgaria. With regard to a return to the Constitution of Tirnova, His Highness said that it would be too humiliating for him to consent to such a course. It would be in contradiction to all he had said and done since he had been in Bulgaria, and he did not think it would have the desired effect of getting rid of the Russians, who, moreover, being masters of the situation, would probably object to such a measure. Moreover, His Highness did not believe that, if the old Constitution were established, the revision would ever take place. M. Zancoff would find that the Liberals would not consent to a revision, and he would not be able, even if he were willing, to carry it into effect. Even as it was, M. Zancoff was obliged to make continual concessions to his party in order to maintain his position as leader. With regard to the diminution of the army, His Highness observed that it was now desired to destroy the only institution in the country which had given satisfactory results. In answer to an observation of mine that the army, being in the hands of the Russians, was rather a danger than a support, His Highness replied that by degrees the Russian officers would leave, and the army would eventually be officered by Bulgarians. In any case, the Constitution which would be drawn up by the Commission about to be formed could not be worse than the old one, and as soon as a constitutional form of government was established, General Sobolelf would naturally resign. If, however, the Russians should refuse to accept the proposals he had determined to make to them, His Highness would re-establish the old Constitution before taking his departure, and would thus leave the country in the same state in which he had found it on his arrival. If, however, he had to go, he would take steps to leave the government of the country in the hands of the Representatives of the Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin. To this I replied that it would be impossible that the foreign Representatives should have any means of governing the country, and the result of His Highness' departure would be to make the Russians all-powerful.

The Prince said that he believed the Russians would accept his proposals, which practically gave them all they desired, but he was afraid that they might afterwards attempt, before the conclusion of the work of the Commission and the convocation of the Great National Assembly, to impose conditions upon him which it would be impossible for him to accept, and he hoped in that case that he might receive assistance from the other Signatory Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 86.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

E (No. 71.)

Sophia, September 5, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that Baron Biegeleben, the Austro-Hungarian Agent and Consul-General, returned to Sophia from leave of absence on the 3rd instant.

Baron Biegeleben has informed me that he was greatly surprised to find that such a critical state of things had been produced since M. Jonine's arrival at Sophia, as the language which he had used to Count Kalnoky at Vienna had been to the effect that his mission was one of conciliation, and that his principal object would be to find means for the Generals to retire in a manner which would not offend Russian susceptibilities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 87.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

E (No. 72.)

Sophia, September 5, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 70 of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to report that a manifesto has been drawn up and signed by the Prince, stating that a Commission will be immediately formed, composed of the most enlightened members both of the Conservative and Liberal parties, for the purpose of drawing up, under the presidency of His Highness, a Project of Constitution, which is to be submitted, as soon as possible, to the Great National Assembly. In the meantime, the present Ministers are to take charge of "current affairs," but they are to observe a strict neutrality with regard to internal political questions.

M. Zancoff called upon me this morning and stated that he had seen the manifesto, which, however, will not be published till the 11th instant, the Prince's fête-day, and that he was not without hope that the Commission which was about to be formed might again recommend the Prince to agree to the immediate re-establishment of the old Constitution, and thus avoid the dangers he foresaw from the convocation of a Great National Assembly elected under the influence of the Russian Generals. M. Zancoff has recently published in the Bulgarian newspapers a scheme of which I shall not fail to transmit a translation to your Lordship as soon as I shall be able to do so, and of which I gave a sketch in my despatch No. 68 of the 1st instant.

I asked M. Zancoff to explain to me how it was that he was so much afraid of the influence which the Russian Generals would exert over the elections for the Great National Assembly, and yet was not afraid of the same influence being exerted in the case of the elections for the ordinary National Assembly, the convocation of which formed part of his scheme. He replied that a large majority of the Liberal party looked upon the Russians as a protection against the Prince, in whom they had lost all

confidence, and that therefore they would side with the Russians until the Constitution were absolutely restored. There was, however, no Bulgarian who would prefer Russian rule to a constitutional form of government, and, as a proof of this, he pointed out that in the first demands which M. Jonine had addressed to the Prince there had been no question of a Constitution, and it was only later that M. Jonine had seen the necessity of demanding that measures should be taken for a revision of the Constitution.

I told M. Zancoff that I thought there was very little probability of the Prince agreeing to re-establish the old Constitution, to which he replied that in that case the Russians would certainly find means of retaining their power, and that any Constitution which would be prepared under their influence would be purely illusory. It would then become a question for the Great Powers to decide whether Bulgaria should be made a Russian province.

I asked M. Zancoff whether there was any truth in a report which had reached me that the Russians hoped to prolong the labours of the Commission, and delay the convocation of the Great National Assembly until the month of March. M. Zancoff replied that he had not heard the report, but he thought it not unlikely that they would attempt to do so, in order to have more time to form a Russian party in Bulgaria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 88.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

E
(No. 73. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Sophia, September 5, 1883.*

MY French colleague has informed me that this morning he received a visit from M. Constantinovitch, the acting Chief of the Prince's Chancellerie, who had been sent by His Highness to make a communication to him, with the request that he would communicate it to his colleagues.

As it was a matter of considerable importance, M. Schefer requested M. Constantinovitch to dictate to him His Highness' message, which he took down as follows:—

"Entre deux maux, l'élaboration d'une nouvelle Constitution ou le retour à celle de Tirnova, le Prince a choisi le moindre.

"Il s'est réservé sa liberté d'action vis-à-vis de ses Ministres, c'est-à-dire, que dans le cas où ils lui présenteraient des Ukases ou autres documents qui seraient contraires à sa manière de voir, il refusera sa signature, et que, dans cette dernière occurrence, Son Altesse demandera leur démission et, comme il sait d'avance qu'ils refuseront puisqu'ils reçoivent leurs ordres de St. Pétersbourg, il préviendra les Représentants des Grandes Puissances et réclamera leur appui pour qu'ils fassent agir à St. Pétersbourg, puisque c'est de là qu'émanent les ordres qui dirigent en ce moment la Bulgarie."

M. Schefer pointed out that a purely hypothetical case ought not to be the subject of an appeal to the Powers, who would naturally require explanations with regard to the difference which might have arisen between the Prince and his Ministers, and he thought it would be wiser for His Highness to refrain from making this communication to the foreign Agents. M. Constantinovitch called on him again later, and told him that the Prince begged him not to inform his colleagues of the communication he had made to him.

Under these circumstances I should not have thought it necessary to bring this matter to your Lordship's notice, had it not been that it shows that the Prince foresees the probability of a conflict arising between him and his Ministers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 89.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

(No. 95.)
My Lord, *Athens, September 8, 1883.*

I INQUIRED yesterday of M. Tricoupi whether there was any truth in a report I had seen in the "Times" newspaper of the 28th ultimo to the effect that difficulties had arisen been the Porte and Greece in consequence of the opposition offered by the latter to the sale of the vacoufs in the ceded provinces.

M. Tricoupi replied, "None whatever." The negotiations at Larissa, he said, were being conducted by the Turkish and Greek Commissioners at Larissa, but that, owing to the delicate nature of many of the subjects being treated, it could not be expected that very rapid progress could be made in a settlement of them. His Excellency then stated that he had seized the opportunity of Tewfik Bey, the Turkish Representative at this Court, going to Constantinople on leave of absence to impress upon him the sincere desire felt by the Greek Government to maintain relations of the most cordial character with the Porte, and to do all in his power when at Constantinople to assure the Turkish Government of the friendly feelings he entertained towards Turkey, and to urge his Government to meet the sentiments he expressed on the part of the Kingdom of Greece in a spirit of the same friendliness and accord. The rank of Tewfik Bey, who has passed many years at Athens, has been recently raised from that of Chargé d'Affaires to Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, but owing to the King of Greece's absence from his capital, he has not yet had an opportunity of presenting himself to His Majesty in his new capacity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

No. 90.

Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)

(No. 611.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 13, 1883.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of the note in which, on receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 873 of the 10th instant, I inquired of M. Challemel-Lacour what view the French Government take of the question, submitted to them on the 17th March and the 2nd April by Lord Lyons, which has been raised in consequence of the treatment which Mussulmans are still subjected to in Bulgaria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

Inclosure in No. 90.

Mr. Plunkett to M. Challemel-Lacour.

M. le Ministre, *Paris, September 13, 1883.*

YOUR Excellency will recollect that, in his notes of the 17th March and of the 2nd April last, Lord Lyons represented that Her Majesty's Government were desirous of being made acquainted with the views of the French Government as to the best mode of arriving at a solution of the question raised by the failure of the Turco-Bulgarian Lands Commission to make progress in the business for which it was appointed under the XIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

It compliance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I venture again to invite your Excellency's attention to the question which is being pressed upon Her Majesty's Government by the Turkish Ambassador in London, who is anxious that representations should be addressed on the subject to the Government of the Principality by Her Majesty's Agent at Sophia.

Your Excellency is no doubt aware that the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments have expressed their willingness to accede to the wishes of the Porte, provided that the combined action of all the Representatives of the Powers at Sophia be secured.

Trusting your Excellency will be so good as to favour me with the view taken by the French Government of this question, I avail, &c.,
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 91.

Consul Hurst to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 17.)

(No. 14.) *Odessa, September* 10, 1883.
(Extract.)

RECENTLY an order was sent from St. Petersburgh to the Nicolaieff Artillery Department to consign to a Bulgarian officer a number of field artillery (Krupp breech-loaders, 8 and 9 centim.) taken from the Turks during the last war. Subsequently the order was partly countermanded, and only nineteen guns were shipped into barge and conveyed to the Danube. These guns are perfectly useless, as they are without locks. I believe they are destined for a memorial church. Previous to this, 110 were sent to decorate some inclosure at St. Petersburgh.

No. 92.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, September* 17.)

E *Constantinople, le* 15 *Septembre*, 1883.
(Télégraphique.)

BIEN que l'on cherche à Sophia à expliquer par les prochaines manœuvres les mouvements militaires et transports d'armes qui ont lieu dans la Principauté, ces derniers continuent sur une trop grande échelle pour ne pas attirer notre attention.

Des chariots en très grand nombre d'armes et de munitions ont été tout récemment encore expédiés de Roustchouk vers les Balkans. On assure même que des ouvriers seraient embauchés pour la construction de casernes et de dépôts à proximité de ces montagnes. En outre, vingt officiers et sous-officiers Russes viennent d'arriver à Roustchouk.

Je prie votre Excellence de signaler ces faits au Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité.

No. 93.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 17, 10·30 P.M.)

(No. 80. Confidential.) *Constantinople, September* 17, 1883, 7·30 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)

THE Grand Vizier begged me to-day to inform your Lordship that he thinks that the military preparations in Bulgaria merit the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 94.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.

E *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1883.
(No. 313 A.)

Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador called at the Foreign Office to-day, and stated that the Porte had received information of a serious character regarding the state of affairs in Bulgaria.

His Excellency had received a despatch dated the 8th instant, from which it appeared that pressure of an exclusive nature was being brought to bear on the Prince, which produced a general feeling of insecurity, and was a legitimate source of anxiety to the Turkish Government. The object of the mission of M. Jonine, the new Russian Agent, was said, indeed, to be to make his influence prevail so far as to limit the Prince's liberty of action, especially as regarded a change of his present Ministers, who had not succeeded in obtaining any sympathy in the country.

These facts were occurring before the eyes of the Consuls-General at Sophia, who could not have failed to bring them to the knowledge of their respective Governments, and it appeared to the Porte that it was time for the Prince of Bulgaria to restore the Principality to the position assigned to it by the Treaty of Berlin, and to protect it from all pressure from outside, which was contrary both to the stipulations of that international Act and to the incontestable rights and suzerainty of the Sultan.

It was true that a compromise had been arrived at on the following bases:—

A Commission of members of both parties, under the Presidency of the Prince, was to be immediately appointed to consider the modifications to be introduced into the Constitution of Tirnova; the constituent Assembly was to be summoned as soon as possible to pronounce upon these modifications, and the present Ministry was to carry on the current business until the revision of the Constitution, without concerning itself with political questions.

The Turkish Government were of opinion that this compromise might ward off the danger of the moment; but they could not hope that the measures adopted would meet the requirements of the situation.

Musurus Pasha said that he was not instructed to ask for an answer to this communication.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 95.

Mr. J. G. Kennedy to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 18.)

E *St. Petersburgh, September* 10, 1883.
(No. 206. Confidential.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 199, Confidential, of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to report that, after discussing the Khotour boundary question to-day, M. de Giers suddenly remarked that he had received excellent news from Bulgaria, and that after an anxious period of suspense his mind was much relieved as to the prospects of that country.

His Excellency said that M. Jonine had already managed to exert the best influence over Prince Alexander, and by persuading His Highness to issue a manifesto convoking the Assembly for the purpose of revising the original Constitution, had produced a feeling of satisfaction and of gratitude throughout the country.

Bulgaria, continued his Excellency, was a creation of Russia, and the Emperor, whilst hoping to replace Prince Alexander in a legal position by the re-establishment of constitutional government, wished, in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's Conservative convictions, to keep such institutions within reasonable limits.

The great misfortune of Prince Alexander had been, according to M. de Giers, to identify himself with a small clique of Bulgarians who had at heart their own interests rather than those of their country.

His Excellency also said that General Soboleff might perhaps return to Russia after the settlement of the constitutional question, but that the Minister of War would be obliged to remain so long as the 200 or 300 Russian officers continued to superintend the formation of the Bulgarian army.

M. de Giers further alluded to the distrust evinced by the Prince towards the Russian Generals, and remarked incidentally that if the Prince were to abdicate it would be a great calamity, that the Bulgarians might seek to establish a Republic, and that it would not be easy to find another candidate for the Throne of Bulgaria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. KENNEDY.

No. 96.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 18.)

E *Berlin, September* 13, 1883.
(No. 266.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 314 of the 1st instant, inclosing a telegram (No. 14 of the 30th ultimo) from Mr. Lascelles on Bulgarian affairs, I asked the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Busch, whether he was in possession of any more recent news respecting the difficulties which have arisen between Prince Alexander and the Russian authorities at Sophia.

His Excellency replied that, as far as he knew, the Prince had finally agreed to act on the advice of the Russian Government, and that as the Turkish Government

had hitherto raised no objection to that advice, he was inclined to think that events would be allowed to take their natural course in Bulgaria for the present.

The "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of this evening has published an article expressing the views of the Imperial Government on the subject, of which a translation is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

Inclosure in No. 96.

Extract from the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of September 13, 1883.

(Translation.)

A TENDENCY has lately been noticeable in the Viennese "Neue Freie Presse," and has even found an echo in some of the Berlin papers, to create an artificial opposition between Russia and the other European Powers, especially Germany. These organs of the press have found in the state of things in Bulgaria a welcome lever with which to stir up public opinion in Russia against her Western neighbours; and the "Neue Freie Presse," in its issue of the 10th instant, ventures to assert that it is once again rumoured that the Powers, and especially Germany, are "much irritated" with Russia on account of Bulgaria. The watchword has been passed round—"Europe against Russia."

We do not wish to-day to enter into any discussion as to the motives of these interested assertions, but only to state that nobody in Government circles is at all aware of the Powers being "much irritated" on account of Bulgaria, and that the shibboleth, "Europe against Russia," has no bearing on the present state of things, and conveys a false impression.

In Vienna, as in Berlin, and doubtless too in Italy, the predominant wish is to live at peace with Russia; not one of the Powers has anything to gain by war, and nowadays the evil of war—even of a victorious war—whether it be European or confined to two belligerents, are always the same, and these evils would, with respect to Russia, not be in any way diminished by the prospect of political advantage resulting therefrom. No Power covets or desires anything from Russia.

Such watchwords as "Europe against Russia" only serve needlessly to awake the belief in the Russian nation that the idea exists somewhere or other of attacking Russia.

With respect to the proceedings in Bulgaria, no complaints or objections have been made, so far as we know, in any quarter, not even by the Porte, which is the Power most interested therein, and the "irritation of the Powers against Russia" only exists, therefore, in the imagination of sensation-mongers.

No. 97.

E *Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 18.)

(No. 267.)

Berlin, September 14, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 322 of the 10th instant to Sir John Walsham, inclosing copy of a note from the Porte calling attention to the treatment of Mussulmans in Bulgaria, and requesting that representations may be addressed on the subject to the Government of the Principality by Her Majesty's Agent at Sophia, I have the honour to state that the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that the same note has been communicated to the German Government by the Turkish Ambassador, and will be submitted to Prince Bismarck for his Highness' consideration.

The German Agent at Sophia is at present in Germany on leave of absence, but Dr. Busch tells me that when he returns to his post instructions will, his Excellency anticipates, be given to him in the sense desired by the Porte.

His Excellency was unable to say more on the subject for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 98.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, September 18.)

E

Sublime Porte, le 5 Septembre, 1883.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PAR ma dépêche Circulaire du 22 Août, j'ai eu l'honneur d'entretenir votre Excellence du voyage de Son Altesse le Prince de Monténégro à Constantinople.

Ainsi que je vous le faisais pressentir, la présence de Son Altesse dans la capitale de l'Empire a donné lieu à un échange de vues relativement aux divers points de la question des frontières qui étaient restés en suspens. Les pourparlers entamés de part et d'autre avec un égal désir de conciliation ont abouti à une entente dont les bases se trouvent consignées dans la correspondance que je joins ci-près en copie.

Le Gouvernement Impérial a l'espoir que cette question aura enfin reçu une solution définitive à la satisfaction commune.

Tel a été le résultat de la visite de Son Altesse, et je ne saurais trop engager votre Excellence à démentir formellement toute interprétation contraire qui viendrait à se produire autour d'elle à cet égard.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. AARIFI.

Inclosure 1 in No. 98.

Aarifi Pasha to M. Radonich.

Le 29 Août, 1883.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, a l'honneur d'informer Son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Son Altesse le Prince du Monténégro que le Gouvernement Impérial a examiné le tracé concernant les frontières Turco-Monténégrines, que son Excellence lui a communiqué à la suite de sa note responsive du 27 de ce mois.

Ce tracé est détaillé comme suit:—

Au nord-est du Lac de Scutari, du point XIX de la Carte du Commissaire Anglais, la frontière suivra jusqu'à Gradiste la ligne telle qu'elle a été définie dans le Protocole No. 3 de Cettinjé, du 10 Janvier, 1883.

De Gradiste la frontière se dirigera en ligne droite au sommet de Suka-i-Gruda, indiqué sur la Carte du Commissaire Anglais; de ce point elle suivra la frontière méridionale de Kuka-Kraïna, constatée par la Commission Internationale, indiquée en vert sur la même Carte, et aboutira en passant par Suka Muanie, Koukuca, Suka Milic, Kum-Kostie, Maja Nerzil, Vila, Skala Rikavue, Tafa Braks au Mont Planinica, d'où elle atteindra par le sommet de Krsi Djegun celui de la Stolica, point extrême des Cartes de la Commission Internationale. De ce point, en prenant pour base la ligne du Mémorandum de Constantinople du 12 Avril, 1880, la frontière se dirigera vers Mokra Planina de manière à laisser à la Turquie les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Musulmane, et au Monténégro les villages dont la majorité des habitants est Chrétienne, Vélika y compris. De Mokra-Planina, qui reste à la Turquie, jusqu'à Moïkovatz, la frontière suivra le tracé du Traité de Berlin.

Conformément à la décision prise à cet égard par le Conseil des Ministres et sanctionnée par un Iradé de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, le Soussigné a l'honneur de notifier à son Excellence, que le Gouvernement Impérial, tout en adhérant au tracé en question, croit devoir en même temps émettre les considérations suivantes:—

Le tracé dont il s'agit porte que de Mokra Planina, qui reste à la Turquie, jusqu'à Moïkovatz, la frontière suivra le tracé du Traité de Berlin.

Or, d'après ce Traité la ligne se dirige, à partir de Mokra vers les hauteurs du village de Morgos, et de là rejoint l'ancienne frontière sur le Lim, en suivant les crêtes et en laissant au Monténégro les villages de Sadrika et Zranitza.

Il s'ensuivrait, dès lors, que la partie de la ligne qui de Mokra Planina s'étend jusqu'au point de l'ancienne frontière sur le Lim, près de Scutare, dépasserait même la ligne Corti, abandonnerait, suivant la Carte, au Monténégro, les villages de Bogh et de Morgos, et laisserait de ce côté à la Principauté un territoire d'environ 40 kilom. carrés d'étendue en place de la ligne Corti, ce qui ne s'accorderait pas avec les propositions que Son Altesse le Prince a bien voulu formuler verbalement. D'ailleurs, la note susmentionnée du 27 courant de son Excellence M. Radonich, indique elle-même la ligne Corti comme point de départ de la délimitation au-delà de Gradiste.

En conséquence, la dite ligne de Berlin se trouvant être naturellement écartée, le Gouvernement Impérial est tout disposé à accepter le dit tracé de son Excellence M. Radonich qui concerne en partie la ligne Corti aux conditions suivantes, qui sont conformes aux propositions verbales de Son Altesse le Prince.

Laisser à la Turquie les points dominants et les villages Musulmans sis des deux côtés de la Rivière de Lim;

Maintenir ouvertes la route d'Ipek et celle conduisant de Plava par la Vallée de Lim à Berana;

Conserver à la Turquie la différence existant entre les deux Cartes Autrichiennes qui indiquent la ligne Corti;

Assurer enfin aux particuliers, parmi lesquels Ali Pacha de Goussinjé, la libre jouissance de leurs propriétés et des revenus de celle-ci. Quant à la ligne-frontière du côté de Novi-Bazar et de l'Herzégovine, elle sera naturellement délimitée conformément aux indications du Traité de Berlin.

Le Maréchal Moustapha Assim Pacha, le Général de Brigade, Tahir Pacha, et le Colonel Bedri Bey, Commissaires Ottomans, seront chargés, de concert avec les Commissaires Monténégrins, de procéder aux travaux de délimitation par l'application sur le terrain du tracé des frontières indiqué dans le mode de solution qui fait l'objet de cette note.

Le Soussigné saisit, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 98.

M. Radonich to Aarifi Pasha.

Le $\frac{29 \text{ Août}}{\text{1 Septembre}}$, 1883.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Son Altesse le Prince de Monténégro, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note du 29, par laquelle son Altesse le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a bien voulu l'informer de la décision prise par le Gouvernement Impérial, sanctionnée par un Iradé Impérial, par rapport au tracé des frontières Turco-Monténégrines.

Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas a appris avec une véritable satisfaction que la Sublime Porte avait, aux quatre conditions énumérées dans la note précitée, adhéré au tracé de la ligne-frontière que le Soussigné a eu l'honneur de présenter à l'acceptation du Gouvernement Impérial.

Cependant, il est à remarquer que ces conditions, en tant qu'elles concernent le tracé de la ligne-frontière dans la Vallée du Lim, ne s'accordent pas entièrement avec les propositions verbales de Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas et le tracé proposé par le Gouvernement Princier. Un désaccord entre les Commissaires des deux Etats dans l'application de ce tracé sur le terrain devenait donc inévitable et aurait pu compromettre le succès de leur mission. Dans le désir sincère de voir les travaux de délimitation mener à bonne fin, et pour éclaircir ce malentendu, un échange d'idées a eu lieu à ce sujet entre Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas et leurs Excellences Nusret Pacha et Munir Bey. Il a été convenu que l'accord qui en a été le résultat, et dont les termes se trouvent consignés dans un double procès-verbal en date du $\frac{19}{31}$ Août, dont copie ci-jointe, servirait de base à la délimitation dans la Vallée du Lim exclusivement.

L'entente ayant été ainsi heureusement établie sur tout le parcours du tracé de la ligne-frontière à délimiter, le Gouvernement Princier s'empressera de désigner de son côté ses Commissaires, qui seront chargés, de concert avec leurs collègues Ottomans, de procéder aux travaux de délimitation par l'application sur le terrain du tracé des frontières dont les bases viennent d'être arrêtées entre les deux Gouvernements.

Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas profite de cette occasion pour exprimer encore une fois au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan ses vifs remercîments pour son esprit conciliant dans les négociations qui ont abouti à la solution d'une question qui a été malheureusement cause de bien plus d'un malentendu entre les deux Etats limitrophes.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) RADONICH.

Remarque.—Il est bien entendu que les quatre conditions demandées dans la note du 29 Août de son Altesse Aarifi Pacha auront force valeur en tant qu'elles ne sont modifiées par ce qui précède.

(Signé) RADONICH.

Annexe.

Pour éviter tout malentendu entre les Commissaires des deux États sur le tracé de la ligne-frontière dans la Vallée du Lim, il a été convenu entre Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas et leurs Excellences Nusret Pacha et Munir Bey que les villages Chrétiens administrés et occupés actuellement par la Principauté dans la Vallée du Lim resteront au Monténégro. Tous ceux qui ne sont pas occupés, et qui, d'après les Traités, appartiendraient au Monténégro, Son Altesse les abandonne à la Turquie, fussent-ils Chrétiens ou non. Les villages susmentionnés seront délimités par leurs limites communales.

L'exception sera faite là où le Traité de Berlin est explicite, comme entre Sisko, Jezero, et Moïkovatz.

(Signé) NUSRET.
RADONICH.

Gehek Sou, le $\frac{19}{31}$ *Août*, 1883.

No. 99.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 19.)

(No. 136. Confidential.) *Scutari, September* 6, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Turkish Staff Officers Ismaïl Pasha and Bedri Bey have been sent, with Prince Nicholas, from Constantinople.

These staff officers are said to have been specially charged by the Sultan to terminate, without further delay, the delimitation of the Albano-Montenegrin frontier.

I think it desirable, with reference to the Prince's visit to Constantinople, to bear in mind that the frontier delimitation in question is a matter of very little real importance, and that the prominence given to it both by the Sultan and Prince Nicholas is calculated to raise the suspicion that it is wished to use it as a screen for negotiations of a more serious nature.

There are no local difficulties in the way of effecting the delimitation; consequently the six special Boundary Commissioners whom the Porte has caused to succeed each other within the last three months, and the steps in the same direction made with equally fictitious anxiety at Cettinjé, have naturally resulted, as I have stated above, in the belief that the boundary question has been used as dust with which to blind the eyes of the public.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 100.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 19.)

(No. 16.) *Sophia, September* 18, 1883.
(Telegraphic.)

AN understanding has been come to between the two parties, in consequence of which the Chambers, which met on the 15th, in the Address in reply to Prince's Speech, have requested His Highness to give immediate effect to his manifesto of the 11th instant by returning to the old Constitution and by convoking the present Chamber in an ordinary and legislative Session.

The Prince has accepted these terms, and a manifesto will be published to-morrow stating that the old Constitution is re-established, and indicating the modifications which His Highness desires to be introduced in it, and which will be examined by the Chamber, and subsequently submitted to Grand National Assembly.

A Bulgarian Ministry, composed of members of both parties, will be formed, and His Highness has requested M. Zancoff to submit the names of the new Ministers.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 101.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, September 19.)

(No. 77. Ext. 16.) *Sophia, September 18, 1883.*

My Lord,

THE Liberal and Conservative parties in Bulgaria have come to an understanding, in consequence of which the Chamber, which met on the 16th instant, has requested the Prince, in the Address which has been drawn up in reply to His Highness' Speech, to give immediate effect to the Manifesto issued by His Highness on the 11th instant by returning at once to the old Constitution and by convoking the present Chamber in an ordinary and legislative Session.

These terms have been accepted by the Prince, and a Manifesto will be issued to-morrow, in which His Highness will state that the old Constitution is re-established. His Highness will also indicate the points which he desires should be modified, and which will be taken into consideration by the Chamber previously to their being submitted to the Great National Assembly, which will be convoked later.

His Highness will at the same time form a Ministry composed of Bulgarians belonging to both parties, and he has requested M. Zancoff to submit to him a list of the persons who should compose the new Ministry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 102.

E *Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 137.) *Scutari, September 9, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Colonel Bedri Boy, who had recently been relieved of his duties as Turkish Boundary Commissioner, has now returned here, having formed part of the suite attached to Prince Nicholas' person by the Sultan for conducting His Highness back to Montenegro.

Bedri Bey informs me that General Ismail Hakki Pasha, who also accompanied the Prince and he, have been charged by the Sultan to immediately effect the demarcation of the Albano-Montenegrin frontier which has been agreed upon between His Majesty and Prince Nicholas.

Bedri Bey states that the demarcation will be a simple formality to be gone through between the Turkish and Montenegrin Commissioners, as the settlement come to between the two Sovereigns is so conceived as to preclude the possibility of any misunderstanding whatever arising.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 103.

Aarifi Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, September 20.)

Constantinople, le 15 Septembre, 1883.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PAR mes communications antérieures, j'ai eu l'honneur d'attirer l'attention de votre Excellence sur la situation des Musulmans de la Bulgarie qui, pour se dérober aux vexations et aux mauvais traitements dont ils sont continuellement l'objet, étaient contraints d'abandonner leurs foyers.

D'après nos informations, 200 familles Mussulmanes de Rasgrad et des villages qui en dépendent viennent de se réunir à Varna pour, de là, se diriger sur Constantinople. L'état navrant dans lequel ces malheureux ont fait leur entrée à Varna y a excité la pitié générale. Couverts de haillons, dénués de tout, malades pour la plupart et le désespoir dans le cœur, ils ont à peine pu trouver un asile dans les khans de la ville. L'autorité intéressée à ce qu'ils ne pussent raconter aux autres Musulmans tous les détails des misères et des vexations qui les poussent à quitter le pays, leur a interdit toute communication avec leurs coreligionnaires. A cet effet, des gendarmes ont été postés aux ports de tous les khans.

Dans leur trajet de Rasgrad à Varna, ces infortunés avaient été même attaqués par des brigands Bulgares qui les dépouillèrent de tout l'argent que la vente à vil prix de leurs propriétés leur avait permis de réaliser.

Cette émigration menace malheureusement de prendre encore de plus grandes proportions, et le Gouvernement Bulgare, malgré nos avertissements réitérés, ne fait rien pour la prévenir.

Je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien signaler ce qui précède au Gouvernement près duquel elle est accréditée, et faire appel de nouveau à ses sentiments d'humanité en faveur de nos pauvres coreligionnaires. Nous aimons à espérer que, touché de leurs souffrances, il voudra bien faire parvenir à Sophia des représentations propre à rappeler enfin le Gouvernement Bulgare au respect de ses devoirs.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) A. AARIFI.

No. 104.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)

(No. 17.) *Sophia, September 19, 1883.*

(Telegraphic.)

MANIFESTO referred to in my telegram No. 16 of yesterday has been published. The two Generals have resigned, and Prince has formed new Cabinet, composed of Bulgarians of both parties, under Zancoff, nominal President of the Council and Minister of the Interior.

No. 105.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, September 20.)

(No. 80. Ext. 17.) *Sophia, September 19, 1883.*

My Lord,

THE Manifesto to which I had the honour to refer in my telegram No. 16 of yesterday's date was published to-day. The two Russian Generals have resigned their posts as Ministers, and the Prince of Bulgaria has formed a new Cabinet composed of members of both the Liberal and the Conservative parties. M. Zancoff fills the posts of President of the Council and Minister of the Interior in the new Cabinet.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 106.

E *Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 74.) *Sophia, September 10, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAD an interview yesterday with the Prince of Bulgaria for the purpose of communicating to His Highness the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 2 of the 7th instant.

Having read your Lordship's telegram to the Prince in French, His Highness asked me what interpretation I placed upon it. I replied that it appeared to me that Her Majesty's Government would be ready to join other Powers in giving a moral support to the action which His Highness might take for freeing himself from the direct interference of the Russians, but that, in your Lordship's opinion, His Highness could not succeed in doing so unless he secured the sympathy of the people. The Prince said that he presumed that this meant that he should return to the Constitution, to which I replied that your Lordship could give no advice as to details, but that His Highness should take such measures as would secure him the support of the whole nation; and I did not see any means of doing so except by establishing a constitutional form of Government.

His Highness then said that the Manifesto which had been prepared, and which would be published on the 11th instant, provided for the establishment of a Constitution, and that as soon as the Constitution came into force General Soboloff would

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naturally have to resign. The good effect which the Manifesto would otherwise have produced would no doubt be weakened by its being known that His Highness had been forced to sign it by the pressure put upon him. He had, however, modified the draft submitted to him by M. Jonine, and had inserted a clause stating that the Ministers should observe a strict neutrality in all internal questions.

I again pointed out the dangers which might arise from a National Assembly, elected under the influence of the Russian Generals, and I told His Highness that I had heard that one of the Ministers had stated openly that no change would be made, and that the Great National Assembly would not meet before the month of March.

The Prince replied that the Commission for drawing up a project of Constitution would sit under his Presidency, and he was confident that its labours would be concluded in time to convoke the Great National Assembly in about two months' time, so that the new Constitution might come into force by the beginning of the new year.

It was impossible to avoid the elections being held while the Russian Generals were in office, as they would not leave until the Constitution was established. His Highness could not consent to the re-establishment of the old Constitution, and he complained bitterly of the action of M. Zaneoff, who, a short time ago, had appeared willing to agree to modifications being made which would have provided for a double election of the members of the National Assembly, and the formation of a second Chamber. Now, however, M. Zaneoff, seeing that His Highness was placed in a position of the greatest difficulty, had made conditions which His Highness could not possibly accept, and demanded the immediate re-establishment of the old Constitution.

His Highness went on to say that it would be necessary that the Commission should draw up a project which should provide for the limitation of universal suffrage and the formation of a second Chamber; and he would also demand that a clause should be inserted providing that no further revision of the Constitution should take place for at least ten years, as he was aware that the Liberal party would at once attempt to alter any Constitution which contained the two points above mentioned. He read to me a list which had been submitted to him by General Soboleff of the persons who were to form the Commission, in which the leaders of both parties were included, and he was in hopes that they would arrive at a satisfactory result. If, however, they failed to do so, or if the Great National Assembly should insist upon a Constitution to which he could not consent, he would abdicate, and he had already made his preparations for leaving the country if it should become necessary for him to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 107.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)

(No. 76.) *Sophia, September 14, 1883.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 72 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to inclose a translation in French of the Manifesto which was issued by the Prince of Bulgaria on the 11th instant on the occasion of His Highness' fête-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Manifesto.

NOUS, Alexandre Ier, par la grâce de Dieu et la volonté nationale, Prince de Bulgarie,

Déclarons à tous nos fidèles sujets que, dans notre constante sollicitude pour le bien de notre patrie, et pour son progrès et développement tant au point de vue moral que sous le rapport matérial, et en conformité de notre promesse faite dans le Manifeste publié à Sistow le 1er Juillet, 1881, avons décidé de nommer incessamment une Commission composée de personnes choisies par nous parmi les plus distingués et les plus respectables de la Principauté, sans distinction de convictions politiques.

Cette Commission siégera sous notre présidence et préparera dans le plus court délai un projet de Constitution.

Ce projet sera soumis à la Grande Assemblée Nationale, qui sera convoquée après que la Commission aura terminé sa tâche, afin de donner au projet une forme définitive.

Jusqu'à l'époque de la promulgation de la Constitution, nos Ministres conserveront leurs portefeuilles en bornant leur activité uniquement à l'expédition des affaires courantes, et en observant une stricte neutralité dans tout ce qui concerne la politique intérieure.

Nous espérons que tous nos fidèles sujets verront dans cet acte une preuve de notre constante sollicitude pour le bien-être de notre cher peuple, et qu'ils uniront leur activité et leur concours au calme et au bon sens, qualités qui doivent distinguer une nation ayant le sentiment de sa dignité.

Donné dans notre capitale, Sophia, le $\frac{20 \text{ Août}}{1 \text{ Septembre}}$ 1883.

(Signé) ALEXANDRE.

No. 108.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22.)

(No. 16.) *Salonica, September 5, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch, with one inclosure, which I have this day addressed to Mr. Wyndham on the subject of brigandage in Macedonia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 108.

Consul-General Blunt to Mr. Wyndham.

Salonica, September 5, 1883.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a further despatch of Mr. Vice-Consul Capety relative to the pursuit and destruction of brigands in the Sandjak of Serres.

I beg leave to avail myself of this opportunity to report that Mehmed Pasha Ewrenos has been rescued from the brigands by the Turkish troops in the district of Caterina.

This happy termination is in a great measure due to the decision of the Governor-General Ghalib Pasha to have, or permit, no negotiations for the ransoming of the captive, and to pursue and attack the brigands.

This was effected in a far more expeditious and successful manner than was anticipated, for not only was Mehmed Pasha rescued scathless, but one of the brigands was killed and the rest dispersed by the troops employed in the pursuit.

Mehmed Pasha Ewrenos has distributed 900*l.* among the troops who effected his delivery, and 90*l.* among the seamen of the Turkish ship of war that was sent to convey him here from Caterina; and among the other liberal donations he has made may be mentioned the following: 90*l.* to the Turkish, 45*l.* to the Greek, and 45*l.* to the Jewish local schools.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 108.

Vice-Consul Capety to Consul-General Blunt.

Serres, le 29 Août, 1883.

M. le Consul-Général,

LA nuit du 27 au 28 de ce mois un détachement des troupes régulières commandé par le Colonel Mehmet Effendi ayant rencontré à Bozdag, 3 heures environ loin d'ici, la bande obéissant à Apostoli Papasoglou de Drunovo, composée de sept brigands, a tué le chef de la bande et quatre de ses acolytes. Les deux brigands échappés sont blessés. Pendant la mêlée ont pu échapper sains et saufs deux prisonniers que les

brigands avaient pris aux environs de Viznico il y a trois semaines. Les soldats ont eu un seul de mort.

Dans le district de Razlog ont été tués Samedi passé trois brigands à peine arrivés de Bulgarie.

Dans le district de Nevrocop a été tué un autre brigand, qui appartenait à la bande de Zembil.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) CONST. CAPETY.

No. 109.

Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22.)

(No. 17.) *Salonica, September 5, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a Report by Mr. Consular Agent Kypriotis on the condition of affairs in the district of Janina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 109.

Mr. Kypriotis to Vice-Consul Blakeney.

(Translation.) *Janina, August 9, 1883.*

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 29th ultimo, calling for information on the general state of the country, I have the honour to report as follows:—

First of all, and this is a good point to start from, as it gives an idea of affairs in general, is the gradual laxity of those who direct the affairs of the province, and as the public officials are for the most part natives, and connected to one another by family ties, their immediate action is influenced either by sympathy or animosity.

Although the Tribunals are according to European system under the supervision of a Director-General, they continue to run the same course as formerly; the Judges being, on the one hand, open to corruption, and, on the other, led by the more efficient member, because the greater part of them are ignorant and unable to give an opinion on questions more or less complicated; consequently they are not free to decide and frequently commit illegalities, such as sending men to prison before any sentence is pronounced, and this takes place even in civil suits.

Another and the greatest scourge is brigandage, which, although sporadic, nevertheless keeps the inhabitants in constant fear, and compels them to remain at home. The result is not only migration and a thinning of the Christian population, but a great depression of trade. The chief cause of the existence of brigandage is, that the persons who are intrusted with its suppression think of nothing else but how to fill their purse. The unfortunate peasantry are therefore a prey to their protectors, whom if they do not satisfy run the risk of being accused of complicity with brigands.

Besides the above another burden has recently fallen on them, at a time, too, when they are engaged in reaping, the construction of a carriage road from Janina to Liaskoviki, for every one must pay his share, and in default is forced to work.

This road has no commercial importance, but is purely military.

In conclusion, I beg to add that the Municipality is in such a state that the people have frequently petitioned for the dismissal of the various members, but to no purpose.

I made a brief statement of the above for your information: unfortunately, however, this state of things goes on for ever, the peasant not daring to say a word in his own defence, because he knows from experience that every word of his would be misconstrued, and the court-martial pointed out to him by way of threat.

I have, &c.
(Signed) B. KYPRIOTIS.

No. 110.

Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.

(No. 63.) *Foreign Office, September 22, 1883.*

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 68 of the 1st instant, giving an account of your interview with M. Grecoff and M. Zancoff with reference to the question of an understanding between the Liberal and Conservative parties in Bulgaria, in consequence of the present state of affairs in the Principality.

I approve the language which you held to M. Grecoff, as reported in that despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 111.

Mr. P. Sanderson to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

E

(No. 73. Confidential.) *Bucharest, September 14, 1883.*

My Lord,

I INQUIRED yesterday of M. Stourdza what truth there might be in a rumour that the Russian Government was endeavouring to form a large Steam Navigation Company on the Danube. M. Stourdza said that several applications had been made to the Roumanian Government to join with the Bulgarians in forming such a Company, for which the Russian Government offered a subsidy, the alleged object being to compete with the Austrian Danubian Navigation Company. For his own part, he thought there would be but little commercial competition; the real object would rather be to facilitate the transport of men and military stores between Russia and Bulgaria on a larger scale than could now be carried on with the vessels owned by Prince Gagarin. The Roumanian Government had refused to take part in the formation of such a Company, stating that, in a case of this kind, they would prefer to have a Company of their own.

Military stores continue to be sent in small quantities from Reni to Rustchuk, and yesterday there passed through Bucharest seventeen Russian officers and upwards of twenty non-commissioned officers on their way to the same place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 112.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 138.) *Scutari, September 17, 1883.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Commission appointed by the Sultan for the delimitation of the Albano-Montenegrin frontiers to the north of Lake Scutari left yesterday for Tusi, where it was to be met by the Montenegrin Commission.

The Turkish Commission is composed of Field-Marshal Mustafa Assym Pasha, Lieutenant-General Ismail Hakki Pasha, Major-General Tahir Pasha, Colonel Bedri Boy, Major Sabri Boy, and Dagues Effendi, of the Civil Service.

Voivodas Elia Plamenatz and Simon Popovich and M. Bacič are the Montenegrin Commissioners.

The Ottoman force on the Podgoritza Plain consists of four infantry battalions and a battery and a-half of artillery, and, if not otherwise desired, can afford every protection to the work to be effected by the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 113.

Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 139. Confidential.) *Scutari, September* 17, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 138 of this day's date, I think it is not quite without interest to note that the composition of the Turkish Boundary Commission is not only exceptional from the rank and position of its members, but also somewhat peculiar through the personal relations which had existed between several of these members.

Mustafa Assym Pasha and Ismaïl Hakki Pasha, when they were last in contact with each other in the Province of Yemen, were engaged in constant recriminations, which ended in the supplanting of the former by the latter in the Governorship of the vilayet.

Tahir Pasha was the officer who succeeded Bedri Bey when three months ago Mustafa Assym Pasha recommended the recall of the Bey on the ground that his views on boundary matters were erroneous.

In this manner Sabri Bey and Dagues Effendi are the only members of the Commission who have not been already discovered to be antagonistic to each other.

Another curious feature of the Turco-Montenegrin boundary settlement effected at Constantinople is the presence of Abdi Pasha as Vali at Kossova. This functionary has invariably opposed all frontier arrangements with the Principality, and very precise instructions will be necessary to make him comprehend that the course he followed when at Scutari is not to be pursued at Gussinjé, when Mustafa Assym Pasha, the man who has so clearly demonstrated Abdi Pasha's incompetency here, arrives in that district.

I hear that Abdi Pasha has already suggested that the season is too far advanced for the Commissioners to terminate their work this year.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 114.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 541. Confidential.) *Therapia, September* 18, 1883.

My Lord,

THE Russian Ambassador having informed me that he had recently spoken to the Grand Vizier on the question of the eighteen villages in the Rhodope district which should be included in the Province of Eastern Roumelia, I thought it a good opportunity to speak again myself to Saïd Pasha on the subject. I therefore expressed to his Highness yesterday the hope that the villages in question would be permitted to be included within the boundaries of Eastern Roumelia, to which province I said they properly belonged; and I added that, having lately heard privately from the British Acting Consul-General at Philippopoli that the Russian party there was showing signs of renewed activity, I thought it all the more advisable for the Porte to settle the question as soon as possible.

His Highness replied that the Minister of War raised objections on strategical grounds to the cession of these villages to Eastern Roumelia.

I may mention to your Lordship that I have not lost sight of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 186 of the 18th May last, and that some time ago I laid the matter before the Austrian Ambassador, but that I did not find his Excellency apparently much inclined to raise it again at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 115.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 78.) *Sophia, September* 18, 1883.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation in French of the Speech delivered by the Prince of Bulgaria in opening the Extraordinary Session of the National Assembly on the 16th instant.

The object of this Extraordinary Session is to obtain the sanction of the Chamber to the Railway Convention signed at Vienna, and also to a Convention concluded with the Russian Government for the payment of the expenses of the Russian occupation.

The Prince was loudly cheered by the whole Chamber when he stated that the only aim of his life was the greatness and independence of Bulgaria and the happiness of his subjects.

The Speech was prepared by His Highness immediately before his departure for the military manœuvres which took place in the neighbourhood of Sophia on the three days preceding the opening of the Chamber. It is easy to understand that the Speech, which contains such flattering allusions to the patriotism and devotion of a Chamber hostile to the Russian Ministers, and which alludes to the independence of the country, could not fail to be distasteful to the two Generals, and General Soboleff used all his endeavours to induce the Prince to modify the expressions which were contained in the original draft. His Highness, however, refused to do so, and the enthusiasm which greeted the allusion to the independence of the country indicates the unanimous feeling of the Chamber on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 115.

Address delivered by the Prince of Bulgaria.

Messieurs les Députés,

JE vous vois avec bonheur réunis autour de moi. Dans la dernière Session de l'Assemblée Nationale vous avez témoigné, Messieurs les Députés, un tel patriotisme et un tel dévouement envers ma personne et le Trône Princier, que je garderai le meilleur souvenir de cette Session. Je vous souhaite donc la bienvenue dans notre capitale.

Vous êtes convoqués, Messieurs les Députés, en Session Extraordinaire pour examiner et approuver la Convention signée à Vienne par les Délégués de mon Gouvernement pour la construction sur le territoire de la Principauté de la ligne ferrée qui doit relier les lignes Ottomanes aux lignes Serbes. Cet engagement nous étant imposé par le Traité de Berlin, il est de votre devoir, Messieurs les Députés, de le prendre en sérieuse considération et de prouver que la nation Bulgare ne recule pas devant l'accomplissement des charges incontestables qui lui sont imposées par des Traités Internationaux.

Le Traité de Berlin mettant aussi à la charge de la Bulgarie les frais de l'occupation Russe, notre Ministère a conclu avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie une Convention qui sera également soumise à votre appréciation.

Mon Manifeste du 30 Août vous a annoncé mes intentions au sujet du régime Constitutionnel de la Principauté. Je saisis avec empressement cette occasion d'assurer en vos personnes mon peuple bien-aimé que j'ai toujours eu et aurai toujours pour unique but de ma vie la grandeur et l'indépendance de notre patrie la Bulgarie, et le bonheur de mes sujets.

Je déclare ouverte la Session Extraordinaire de la Troisième Assemblée Nationale Ordinaire.

(Signé) ALEXANDRE.

No. 116.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 81.)
Sophia, September 19, 1883.

My Lord,

THE understanding between the Liberal and Conservative parties in Bulgaria, to which I referred in my telegram No. 16 of yesterday, was arrived at on the 16th instant, the day of the meeting of the Chamber. For some time it had been doubtful whether it would be possible to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement, as although both parties were prepared to advise the Prince to re-establish the old Constitution, M. Zancoff and the Liberal party were of opinion that the present Chamber should refuse to ratify the two Conventions which were to be submitted to it, on the ground that such important questions should not be dealt with by a Chamber which, in consequence of the changes which had been announced in the Prince's Manifesto of the 11th instant, would very shortly cease to exist. The Conservatives, on the other hand, maintained that it was absolutely necessary that, at all events, the Railway Convention should be ratified by the Chamber, as otherwise the country would lay itself open to the imputation of seeking to avoid its international obligations. M. Zancoff at last yielded on this point, and he and M. Balabanoff, on behalf of the Liberal party, and MM. Grecoff and Natchovitch, on behalf of the Conservatives, waited upon the Prince to inform him that an understanding had been come to on the basis of a return to the old Constitution, in consequence of which the two Conventions should be considered and approved by the Chamber. They assured the Prince of their desire to meet His Highness' wishes, and agreed that the modifications which His Highness desired to introduce into the old Constitution should be taken into consideration and accepted by the present Chamber, if His Highness would convoke it in an ordinary and legislative Session instead of the extraordinary one in which it was about to be assembled. The Great National Assembly, whose sanction to these modifications was necessary to give them the force of law, might be convoked later when His Highness might think fit.

The Prince expressed his satisfaction at an understanding having been come to, and stated that he would be prepared at once to issue a Manifesto in which he would state that the old Constitution was re-established, and at the same time would indicate the points which he desired should be modified if he were assured that it was the unanimous wish of the Chamber that he should do so.

Later in the day the Chamber was opened, and on the 17th instant unanimously elected a Commission of ten members, composed of four Conservatives, four Liberals, and two Turks, to prepare an Address in reply to the Prince's Speech.

The Address was presented to the Prince yesterday by the whole Chamber, who went to the Palace in a body for the purpose. His Highness replied by stating that he was prepared to issue at once a Manifesto in the sense above indicated, and at the same time requested M. Zancoff to draw up a list of persons to fill the posts of Ministers, it being understood that the two parties should be equally represented in the new Cabinet.

The present arrangement completely annuls the Manifesto issued by the Prince on the 11th instant under pressure from the Russians, and, by the re-establishment of the old Constitution, cuts the ground away from under the feet of the Generals, who who had no other course left than to send in their resignations, which they did this afternoon.

This evening, at 5 o'clock, the Prince summoned the members of the Chamber and read to them the Manifesto which he had signed, and at the same time announced the formation of the new Cabinet, in which M. Zancoff is President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, M. Natchovitch Minister of Finance, M. Iconomoff Minister of Public Works, M. Balabanoff Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Stoïloff Minister of Justice, and M. Molloff Minister of Public Instruction. M. Grecoff does not form part of the Cabinet, but is appointed President of the Chamber.

Although the Prince has thus got rid of his Russian Ministers, and has secured for the time being the support of both the Bulgarian parties, it is doubtful whether the new Cabinet will be able to work harmoniously together when once the danger which has caused them to unite shall have disappeared. It is also very doubtful whether the modifications which the Prince wishes to be introduced into the Constitution will ever be made. M. Zancoff is strongly opposed to the two points upon which His Highness insists the most, viz., a limitation of universal suffrage by a system of double elections for seats in the National Assembly, and the formation of a second

Chamber; and although, in consequence of the understanding which has been arrived at, he will not oppose them in the present Chamber, he makes no secret of his belief that they will never be accepted by the Great National Assembly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 117.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 82.)
Sophia, September 19, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my preceding despatch of this day's date, I have the honour to inclose a translation in French of the Address presented to the Prince of Bulgaria yesterday by the National Assembly in reply to His Highness' Speech from the Throne.

I have also the honour to inclose a translation of the Prince's Manifesto, dated yesterday, which was to-day communicated by His Highness to the members of the Chamber.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 117.

Address presented by the National Assembly to the Prince of Bulgaria.

Monseigneur,

C'EST avec une profonde reconnaissance que nous avons entendu l'assurance que vous avez bien voulu exprimer dans le Discours du Trône, que votre Altesse gardera un agréable souvenir de la dernière Session de l'Assemblée Nationale. Les représentants de la nation, dans leur devouement à la personne sacrée de votre Altesse et au Trône Princier, n'ont été que les interprètes des sentiments qui animent tout le peuple Bulgare.

Convoqués en Session Extraordinaire pour examiner et voter la Convention conclu par le Gouvernement de votre Altesse avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Czar de Russie, pour le paiement des frais faits dans la Principauté pendant le temps de l'occupation, et la Convention des chemins de fer destinés à relier les lignes Ottomanes à celles de la Serbie, les Représentants de la nation les prendront en très sérieuse considération, et, après les avoir examinées, ils se prononceront sur ces questions, ayant en vue tant les intérêts de la patrie que les engagements qui nous sont imposés par le Traité de Berlin.

Les représentants de la nation expriment leur reconnaissance de très fidèles sujets pour le Manifeste Souverain du 30 Août (11 Septembre), par lequel votre Altesse s'est décidé si patriotiquement à faire sortir la Principauté de la présente situation indécise.

Pour réaliser d'une façon plus facile et plus pratique cette intention magnanime de votre Altesse, nous, représentants de la nation, unanimement, sans distinction de partis, et animés d'un dévouement sans borne à la personne et au trône de votre Altesse, prenons la liberté de vous prier, Monseigneur, de vouloir bien promulguer un Manifeste Souverain, par lequel vous rétabliriez la Constitution de Tirnova, en indiquant en même temps les points qu'il est urgent d'examiner et de modifier. La question de modification de ces points pourrait être soumise à cette Assemblée même, en transformant la présente Session Extraordinaire en Session législative ordinaire. Le rétablissement de la Constitution de Tirnova et l'acceptation par cette Chambre de l'examen de cette Constitution par une Grande Assemblée Nationale, rencontreront indubitablement l'approbation unanime du pays; aussi avons-nous pris la liberté de proposer et d'appuyer cette mesure salutaire pour la nation.

Monseigneur,

Les assurances que votre Altesse veut bien donner par notre entremise à la nation Bulgare de la constante sollicitude que vous avez pour la grandeur et l'indépendance de la patrie et pour le bien-être de vos sujets, ont été accueillies avec une sympathie toute particulière, parce qu'elles trouvent un écho dans tout cœur Bulgare.

Nous avons la plus profonde conviction que votre Altesse, par la coopération unanime de toutes les forces de la Bulgarie, assurera l'indépendance de la patrie et la conduira dans la voie de la grandeur et du bien-être.

Vive votre Altesse!

Inclosure 2 in No. 117.

Manifesto.

NOUS, Alexandre I^er^, par la grâce de Dieu et la volonté nationale, Prince de Bulgarie,

Déclarons à tous nos fidèles sujets que, dans notre constant désir d'assurer le bonheur de notre patrie et considérant que la Troisème Assemblée Nationale Ordinaire actuellement en Session, dans son Adresse à notre Discours du Trône, nous a unanimement soumis sa prière dévouée, nous rétablissons la Constitution votée par l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante de Tirnova, en invitant la présente Assemblée—dont nous transformons la Session Extraordinaire en Session législative ordinaire—à se prononcer sur les modifications que doivent subir les Chapitres 13 et 14 de cette Constitution relativement à la représentation Nationale.

L'unanimité avec laquelle les représentants de la nation nous ont exprimé leur prière de faire sortir la patrie de la situation difficile actuelle, nous donne pleine confiance que tous nos fidèles sujets suivront l'éclatant exemple de patriotisme donné par les représentants Nationaux, et qu'en oubliant tous les malentendus et haines passées, nous prêteront leur patriotique concours pour l'organisation durable du pays.

Donné dans notre capitale, Sophia, le $\frac{6}{18}$ Septembre, 1883.

(Signé) ALEXANDRE.

No. 118.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 27.)

(No. 83.) *Sophia, September* 20, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatches No. 54 of the 22nd ultimo and No. of the 6th instant, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from the British Vice-Consul at Rustchuk, announcing the arrival at that port of twenty-six Krupp field-pieces from Nicolaieff.

I have not failed to make inquiries with regard to the arrival of these guns, as well as with regard to the military activity which formed the subject of the telegram addressed by the Porte to the Turkish Ambassador in London.

With regard to the arrival of the guns, I am informed that the number was thirteen and not twenty-six. They were Krupp guns which had been captured from the Turks during the war, and had been given to Bulgaria by Russia. The breech-pieces had been carried off, and the guns had been sent to Nicolaieff in order to be fitted with new breech-pieces. There are still five more which have not yet arrived.

With regard to the statements contained in the telegram from the Porte to Musurus Pasha, I am informed that they are in the main correct. Arms, ammunition, cannons, and tents have been transported from Rustchuk viâ Lom Palanka to Sophia. Rustchuk is the only arsenal and the principal depôt for arms and ammunition in the Principality, and the formation of a camp near Sophia, and the usual autumn manœuvres which this year took place in this neighbourhood, necessitated the movement of troops and arms. The Bulgarian artillery consists of various kinds of guns, viz., Krupp guns captured from the Turks, and Russian guns made of steel and bronze, and it has recently been decided that the steel guns should be employed in the western division of the Principality, and the bronze guns in the eastern division, which has occasioned a movement of these cannons.

The explanations above given appear to be reasonable, and as a proof that the military movements are not of a dangerous character, I have been informed that this year the men who had served two years in the army were allowed to join the reserves a month earlier than the usual time, viz., on the 10th August instead of the 10th September, in order that the sums thus economized on their pay might be devoted to paying the expenses of the formation of the camp, for which no provision was made in the Budget.

Although the military movements and activity displayed in Bulgaria are not of a nature to excite alarm, the increase of the army and the fact that the Military Budget absorbs 40 per cent. of the revenues of the country might cause the question to be raised whether Bulgaria has the right of keeping up an army of such a size. The Treaty of Berlin stipulates that Bulgaria should have a national militia. She has now a regular army, commanded by Russian officers, and provided with reserves, and the expense it entails is out of all proportion to the financial position of the Principality. The country does not require such an army, which is in fact an instrument in the hands of Russia, who not only would be able to count upon it as a military force in the case of emergency, but employs it as a means of increasing her influence in the country through the large number of Russian officers at present serving in it. There is no Bulgarian, whether Liberal or Conservative, with whom I have spoken who does not perceive the necessity of diminishing the army; and it is more than probable that as soon as the Budget comes before the Chamber for discussion a very large reduction will be made in the military estimates which will necessarily entail a diminution of the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 118.

Mr. Dalziel to Mr. Lascelles.

Rustchuk, August 25, 1883.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Bulgarian Government have received yesterday, by the Russian Navigation Company's steamer from Nicolaieff, twenty-six Krupp field pieces (captured Turkish guns).

These guns are incomplete, there being no "train" for them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. H. DALZIEL.

No. 119.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 27.)

E

(No. 266.) *Vienna, September* 20, 1883.

My Lord,

THE last Confidential prints forwarded to me by your Lordship contain a Memorandum by Mr. Baker, lately Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Nisch, giving a sketch of public feeling in Servia, and of the relative hold of the rival families of Obrenovich and Karageorgevich upon the people of the new kingdom.

The Austrian Government take care to be well informed upon a subject which interests them closely, and they seem to be well aware of the discontent with which Mr. Baker states King Milan to be regarded by a large number of his subjects, but they consider that any danger that may threaten him is more likely to come from the advocates of a Republic than from the partizans of Karageorgevich.

His incapacity as a Ruler and his supposed want of physical courage have lost him the respect of his people, and many of them are now believed to be inclined to ask whether they derive any benefit from the presence of a King that at all compensates them for the taxes they have to pay for the maintenance of the new dignity.

A belief in the subserviency in which King Milan is alleged to be kept by Austria appears to be one of the grounds of his unpopularity, and there can be no doubt that the Imperial Government do all in their power to inspire His Majesty with confidence in them, and to lead him to look upon this country as a friendly-disposed Power, but I have every reason for believing that they have scrupulously abstained from all interference in the internal affairs or policy of Servia, and confine the exercise of their influence entirely to questions affecting the international relations of the two countries.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 120.

Mr. White to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

E
(No. 77. Confidential.)

Bucharest, September 22, 1883.

My Lord,

AT different times I had occasion to report to your Lordship on the relations of this kingdom with its two powerful military neighbours, and I think it will do no harm to recapitulate succinctly the circumstances, now that it is generally believed that a permanent and important change has come over those with Austria-Hungary.

Since the termination of the late war there has existed coolness between Roumania and the Russian Cabinet, especially as the various overtures made by the latter for a closer intimacy have been always politely declined, and more particularly since the Imperial Legation at Bucharest has been suspected of encouraging secretly the virulent attacks of the Opposition, not only against the present Ministers, but also at times, against the King himself, whilst an important French journal, published in the capital, is supposed to be subsidized by it. This was most apparent during the general election.

On the other hand, the Cabinet of Vienna, which had been most friendly to this country under Count Andrássy, has shown a growing irritability and suspiciousness ever since that statesman resigned office, aggravated by the difference of views of the two countries on the Danube question.

The culminating point in this estrangement appears to have been reached about the end of last June (when I went home on leave). Of this I had an indication in confidential conversations with some of my colleagues, but particularly in the threatening innuendoes of Baron Saurma, the German Minister, on the eve of my departure.

Early in July the Gradisteano speech incident came to a close by a timely apology of the Roumanian Minister, but was at once followed by the dismissal from active service of General Brialmont in Belgium, and renewed attacks of the Austrian press on Roumania, based on the erroneous assumption that the General's plans of fortification were directed against Austria.

I may here observe that the General travelled by the same train with me from Bucharest to Pesth before his visit had attracted notice, and volunteered explanations of his plans, from which I was, and am still, satisfied that these were solely directed against the contingency of a Russian invasion, and had not Austria in view in the least.

In the beginning of August M. Bratiano paid a visit to Sigmaringen to the Prince of Hohenzollern, the father of King Charles.

On the 13th His Majesty was invited to Berlin to act as sponsor to a Royal Prince, and on his return paid his visit to the Emperor Francis Joseph.

It may be presumed that the explanations given frankly and loyally by His Majesty at these two Courts led to the invitation to Gastein of M. Bratiano by Prince Bismarck, and to their interviews. These have attracted much notice, but the real nature of their communications remains uncertain, and is probably likely to continue so, although the improvement in the relations of Roumania and Austria-Hungary may be said to date from that moment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 121.

Major Sale, R.E., to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)

E

Staff Quarters, School of Military Engineering, Brompton, Chatham, September 27, 1883.

My Lord,

IN reply to the Memorandum dated the 24th instant from the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, forwarding to me Mr. Wyndham's despatch No. 508, with its inclosures, on the subject of the Montenegrin frontier question, I have the honour to remark as follows:—

As regards the line from the Lake of Scutari up to the extreme point shown in my map, and detailed in Inclosures 1 and 2, there need be no difficulty in applying to the ground itself the frontier-line therein agreed to, as the definition so far is sufficiently precise.

But beyond the last point shown on my map the definition of the line is so very vague that everything depends upon the good-will of the Commissioners deputed to apply locally the agreement now arrived at.

If the Turkish and Montenegrin Commissioners set about the work of delimitation in the same spirit that actuated them when the International Commission met, there will not be a chance of their agreeing as to the actual demarcation of the vaguely defined part of the frontier.

There is nothing in the agreement itself which appears to me to call for remark, other than that it seems a fairly sincere and equitable, though very vague, attempt at settling this long-outstanding question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. T. SALE.

No. 122.

Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)

(No. 79.)

Sophia, September 19, 1883.

My Lord,

BEFORE the meeting of the Bulgarian Chamber on the 16th instant, General Soboleff strongly urged the Prince of Bulgaria to consent to an alteration being made in the form of oath to be administered to the newly-elected Deputies. His Highness, however, refused, on the ground that all the Deputies had been elected under the same Law, and that it was not possible to introduce a form of oath for the new Deputies which would be different to that already taken by their colleagues.

On the 17th instant General Soboleff, who was not then aware of the understanding which had been come to between the two parties, again urged the Prince to sanction the alteration he proposed, saying that otherwise the Liberal Deputies would certainly refuse to take an oath which recognized the full powers of His Highness, and would leave the Chamber. The Prince replied that his Excellency need have no anxiety on that score, as he could inform him that at the moment he was speaking the oath was being taken. General Soboleff at once went to the Chamber and found to his astonishment that M. Zancoff had already taken the oath, and that a perfect understanding existed between the two parties.

M. Zancoff has informed me that he would certainly have declined to take any steps which would have recognized the full powers of the Prince unless he had been assured beforehand that those full powers would cease to be in force within twenty-four hours. I understand that General Soboleff has complained bitterly of the manner in which he was deceived by M. Zancoff.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 123.

Memorandum communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Cantacuzène, September 28, 1883.

E

LE Prince de Bulgarie a rétabli la Constitution de Tirnovo et il a chargé l'Assemblée actuelle de sa révision, la revêtant ainsi des pouvoirs d'une Assemblée Constituante, au lieu de s'en tenir à son Manifeste du 30 Août.

Le Gouvernement Impérial décline pour sa part toute solidarité dans cette mesure dangereuse et empreinte d'illégalite, et il en laisse toute la responsabilité au Prince Alexandre.

Les Généraux Kaulbars et Soboleff ont reçu l'autorisation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de se retirer du Ministère, dont ils ne sauraient faire partie sous le régime actuel.

Tout en continuant son action modératrice sur les partis afin de maintenir le calme dans le pays, notre Représentant à Sophia prendra une attitude expectante.